DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 358 687 FL 020 834

AUTHOR Ventola, Eija, Ed.
TITLE Approaches to the Analysis of Literary Discourse.
REPORT NO ISBN-952-9616-00-7
PUB DATE 91
NOTE 156p.; For individual articles, see FL 020 835-840. Published by Abo Academy Press.
AVAILABLE FROM Tidningsbokhandeln, PB33, SF-21601, Pargas, Finland.
PUB TYPE Books (010) -- Collected Works - General (020)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC07 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Discourse Analysis; Foreign Countries; Language Patterns; *Literary Genres; Literary History; *Literature; Phonology; Prose; Semantics; Semiotics; Translation; *Written Language
IDENTIFIERS English (Nigerian)

ABSTRACT

Articles included in this compilation represent functional approaches to literary analysis. Most of these papers were presented at the Sixteenth International Systemics Congress held in Helsinki, Finland, in 1989. The aim of the congress was to establish dialogue between various functional approaches to the theoretical study of language, to educational linguistics, as well as to the study of literary language. The literary analysis papers included in this compilation range from discussions of literary pragmatics, to detailed systemic-functional analyses of literary texts. Papers included are: "Literary Genre and History: Questions from a Literary Pragmaticist for Socio-Semioticians" (Roger D. Sell); "Prose Dialogue and Discourse" (Karen Malcolm); "Dialogue and Discourse in a Nigerian English Discourse" (Femi Akindele); "Semantic Options in the Transitivity System: An Example of Textual Analysis" (Julia Lavid); "Variation in Narrative Structure: A Simple Text vs. an Innovative Work of Art" (Martina Bjorklund and Tuija Virtanen); "Phonological Meanings in Literary Prose Texts and their Translations" (Eija Ventola). (JL)

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ÅBO AKADEMIS FÖRLAG — ÅBO ACADEMY PRESS

FL 020 834 ED358687

Approaches to the Analysis of Literary Discourse

Edited by

EIJA VENTOLA

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Edited by
Eija Ventola

ÅBO 1991

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CIP Cataloguing in Publication

Approaches to the analysis of literary discourse /
ed. by Eija Ventola. - Åbo : Åbo Akademis förlag.
1991
ISBN 952-9616-00-7
UDK 82.0

ISBN 952-9616-00-7
Åbo Akademis kopieringscentral
Åbo 1991

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PREFACE

All the articles published in *Approaches to the Analysis of Literary Discourse* represent functional approaches to literary analysis. Most of the papers in the volume were presented at the Sixteenth International Systemics Congress, held in Helsinki, Finland, in 1989. The aim of this congress was to establish dialogue between various functional approaches to the theoretical study of language, to educational linguistics, as well as to the study of literary language. A selection of the theoretical and educational papers will appear in a volume titled *Functional and Systemic Linguistics: Approaches and Uses* (see Ventola in press). The literary analysis papers presented at the congress varied from discussions of literary pragmatics to detailed systemic-functional analyses of literary texts, and some of them are now published in this collection. The volume offers its readers a comprehensive view of the dynamic developments taking place in functional literary stylistics.

The volume begins with an article which considers the nature of literary genre and its definitions. Roger Sell (Åbo Akademi), a literary pragmaticist (see Sell 1991), searches for contact points on the issue of genre between literary pragmatics and Hallidayan systemic-functional linguistics. For Sell, literary pragmatics is based on the principle of genres being useful for the taxonomic purposes of perceiving and parcelling experience, and further, for pursuing a sociological definition of literature - genres functioning as communicative processes in certain sociocultural contexts. Finally, in literary pragmatics the notion of generic change is of importance. For the first two aspects, the contact points between literary pragmatics and systemics seem fairly obvious; to the last, Sell argues, systemics has paid less attention. He addresses four fundamental problems which seem to arise when an attempt is made to define genres: how to treat changes in genres, how to handle the question of the individual versus the culture, whether genres are historically specific or universal, and how old genres are to be interpreted in new contexts? The generic issues are further concretized by analyses of poems by Tennyson and Yeats.

In the second article, Karen Malcolm (University of Winnipeg) discusses the nature of fictional dialogues and contrasts these to casual conversations. Novelists create an illusion of 'real' speech and 'real' people by very structured and predictable means. Malcolm uses phasal analysis, i.e. the study of simultaneous ideational, interpersonal, and textual encodings in texts, to show how various prominent Canadian novelists build up their fictional dialogues. Fictional dialogues are contrasted to natural casual conversations. Writers are seen as careful constructors of meanings: they prepare their readers for the 'worst'. The dialogues of fictional characters are like casual conversations between strangers: they involve the same kind of built-in cohesiveness. Only friends can 'jump' in casual conversations and construct their talk in discontinuous phases. Novelists do not want to make demands too great for their reader´s gnostological understanding (i.e., for their shared situational and cultural assumptions). Authors cannot assume that their audience will share the same gnostologies as the characters of their novels; hence, they must do their utmost to facilitate decoding by cohesive phasal encoding.

Femi Akindele (Obafemi Awolowo University) in his article, examines how dialogues function in Nigerian English prose fiction. He explores how conversation enhances theme development and character differentiation. Analyses of conversations through methods of discourse analysis help to reveal the themes of corruption, thuggery, political and administrative incompetence in the main characters. In Nigerian fictional dialogue the women are dominated by the men and the young by the old, just like in real life. For Akindele, fictionalised dialogues reflect discourse realities apparent in the contemporary Nigerian social system.

Julia Lavid (Universidad Complutense de Madrid) addresses the issue of the possible connections between systactic forms and semantic functions. Using the systemic functional approach, she reveals semantically motivated patterns of language functions in Melville's novel *Billy Budd*. These patterns develop the theme of the story and provide insights into the literary effects of the description of a scene. The emphasis is on the manner in which verbal processes and participants are represented in the text, i.e. the focus is on the ideational component of the grammar, on transitivity. The fate of the

characters is the direct reverse of what one is led to believe: the sweet, innocent hero becomes a killer; the evil character a victim; the one person who should be just, fails to understand the circumstances. It is this discrepency between character and action that gives rise to the disagreement among critics over the inner meaning of the story. Lavid shows how by selecting certain options available within the transitivity system, Melville constructs a semantically motivated pattern to reveal the roles of the participants in the processes and the reasons for their actions in the novel.

Martina Björklund and Tuija Virtanen (Åbo Akademi) discuss and analyse the deifferences between two rather extreme forms of the narrative: simple, structurally stereotyped children's stories and an artistic story, *The Steppe* by A. Čexov. The focus is on the signalling of text-strategic continuity and text segmentation, as manifested in the use of markers of temporal text strategy and devices of participant reference. Variation fluctuates on the scale of 'prototypicality': at one end of the scale one may find texts which conform to a standard narrative design, and, at the other end, texts with innovative text strategies. In near-prototype texts, textual boundaries are indicated by initial placement of temporal adverbials and the use of full nominal phrases referring to participants. In innovative texts, like *The Steppe*, text boundaries are blurred to create an impression of a continuous stream: the major temporal shifts are often signalled by non-initial temporal expressions and the references to participants at major text boundaries are pronominal. A narrative which deviates from the expected design relies on the reader´s intuition about a prototypical narrative structure. Since text-receivers probably interpret 'unusual' texts against the background of a prototype, innovative strategies are a source of artistic effect.

Eija Ventola (University of Helsinki) in her chapter, discusses phonological meaning in literary texts. The basic premise is Firthian: 'meaning' is a conglomeration of meanings - each linguistic level creates its own kind of meaning. Ventola first presents an overview of the concept and illustrates the realization of phonological meaning in literary texts (e.g. repetition of sounds, rhyme, alliteration, assonance, consonance, etc.). She argues that the study of phonological meaning realizations is biased in linguistic literature: ample

analyses of poetry exist, whereas fiction and everyday texts have hardly received any attention at all. This has its consequences to translations, for example. Textbooks on translation theory offer few guidelines to translators on how to recognize and translate phonological meaning realizations in fiction. Translators have to tackle these problems on their own as best they can. Where the realization of phonological meanings is very obvious, the translator at least attempts to create a similar meaning in the target language, but frequently, as Ventola demonstrates in her chapter, the phonological meanings created by authors of fiction are neglected by translators.

Eija Ventola

Helsinki 21.10.1991

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LITERARY GENRE AND HISTORY: QUESTIONS FROM A LITERARY PRAGMATICIST FOR SOCIO-SEMIOTICIANS

Roger D. Sell
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1. Introduction: the nature of the questions to be posed

This paper amounts to a stage in an on-going enquiry. It presents the difficulties literary pragmaticists have with literary genre, and it asks to what extent linguists belonging to the Halliday tradition might be able to help.

Literary pragmaticists need a taxonomical apparatus which will apply to genres of all kind, literary or otherwise. Also, they need to describe how different genres help people perceive and parcel things up, and how genres function within sociocultural contexts. It seems that Hallidayan linguists may well have something to suggest here, even if their genre thinking is not yet fully developed to their own satisfaction.

Furthermore, however, literary pragmaticists also need to talk about *changes* in genres and in their relation to context. Here it is not immediately clear whether Halliday linguists can help. The question is: Do Hallidayans, as a matter of either principle or convenient practice, confine themselves to a synchronic approach?

2. The neo-classical decontextualization of literary genres

A full answer to the literary pragmaticist's questions about genre, then, would combine taxonomy, epistemology, function and diachrony, and this to a degree arguably not attempted since Aristotle's treatise on poetics. Yet not even Aristotle's account, at least in the form in which it has come down to us, succeeded in holding all this together, and neo-Aristotelians of the renaissance reduced genre to a matter of rigid formal prescription. In making taxonomy all-important in this particular way they tended to treat literary works as finished products. Yet rightly understood, any written text is only the merest trace of a whole process of communication, which takes place within a society that is for ever changing.

There is much that could be said in mitigation for the poeticians of the renaissance. Their decontextualizing genre prescriptions were supposed to help vernacular writers straightforwardly emulate the glories of Greece and Rome. Perhaps it was unfortunate that Aristotle's thought, diachronic though it was, was so much taken up with entelechy -- the idea of functions or potentialities gradually blossoming out into complete and perfect expression. Tragedy, he said, grew up little by little as its character became clear; after many transformations, it settled down when its nature was formed. All of which tended to portray Greek tragedy as

the only way to do things.

But the neoclassical uprooting of literary genres from sociohistorical contexts could only wrench the facts of communicative life. It made too little allowance for the influence of an author's particular audience on what he writes, and too little allowance for the impact the author might want to make, and indeed might make, upon his audience.

3. The modern emphasis on individual vision at the expense of genre

Other principled decontextualizations downplay things in only the one way or the other. Literary structuralism of the 1960's and 1970's announced the death of the author and the life of culture. More sensitive to variations in cultural conditions than neoclassicism was, it saw these as determining what kinds of work the writer can produce, who consequently had no individuality. The literary criticism of Harold Bloom (e.g. Bloom 1973), on the other hand, can be seen as reacting to structuralism, by declaring the life of authors and the death of culture. Out of anxiety that they might be influenced by some predecessor, strong authors strive to make everything new in their own way.

Of these two oversimplifications Bloom's is the more typically modern: it is somewhat more likely to strike people born after, say, 1780 as common sense. Admittedly there are partial precedents, both ancient

and neoclassical. Longinus, speculating on the nature and origins of the sublime -- that quality in a text which overwhelms us with the feeling that here is "the real thing" --, concluded that a great writer can infringe rules of writing with impunity; he who follows rules can actually seem to lack sincerity and emotional conviction. And after Boileau had translated Longinus into French such sentiments were repeated in accounts of Shakespeare as an untaught genius and in Pope's "Essay on Criticism". Longinus also said, however, that the sublime comes and goes as suddenly as a flash of lightening; for the most part a writer has to rely on existing conventions as a sustaining prop, for which reason they deserve to be catologued and taught. And for Pope sublime originality and inherited norms were in rich symbiosis. It was only as the eighteenth century moved into the early Romantic period that the more radically Bloomian notes began to be sounded. In 1759 Edward Young's *Conjectures on Original Composition* argued:

> All eminence and distinction lies out of the beaten road; excursion and deviation are necessary to find it; and the more remote your path from the highway, the more reputable .... Rules, like crutches, are a needful aid to the lame, though an impediment to the strong. (Young 1918: 11-12, 14)

In 1783 Hugh Blair's *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* stood entelechy on its head: the most highly developed forms of genres may represent a falling-off in sheer power:

> In the rude and artless strain of the first poetry of all nations, we ... often find somewhat that captivates and transports the mind.
> (Blair 1965: II 322-3)

And it is with Coleridge and Wordsworth that the modern attitude becomes entirely a matter of course. The be-all and end-all now is quite simply poetry -- supreme powers of creative expression. Compared with this, the question of what particular form of writing an author chooses is a mere irrelevance. As Wordsworth put it:

> Why trouble yourself about the species till you have previously decided upon the genus? Why take pains to prove that an ape is not a Newton, when it is self-evident that he is not a man?
> (Wordsworth 1952: 403)

In some of the most influential aesthetic theories of the present century such views have been of fundamental importance. For Benedetto Croce, every true work broke generic laws, and a preoccupation with formal classifications was positively dangerous: it represented a blindness to intuitive knowledge. The New Critics, seeking to show the tensions, paradoxes and ironies by which truly imaginative works reconcile, in Coleridge's phrase, opposite and discordant qualities, were similarly unconcerned about genres. And so, despite his elaborate typologies, is Northrop Frye: his typologies are of intuited mythical structures which permeate many different kinds of writing throughout the ages.

The whole tendency of the Romantic tradition of which Bloom is the

latest representative is in fact to dispense with generic taxonomy, social context and history at a stroke. Of the Aristotelian quartet of interests, they leave us with epistemology only: their main stress is on the great author's access to a special truth, something which can set him quite apart from normal conventions, from society, from his own historical period. We may well be tempted to say that, under the circumstances, the deconstructionists' scepticism towards any notion of truth, or the literary structuralists' cultural determinism, is a salutory antidote.

4. Rehabilitations

4.1. Recent genre criticism

But there have also been less extreme and, as I believe, more helpful countermoves. For one thing there has been a quiet revival of genre criticism. The finest representative of this is Alastair Fowler's *Kinds of Literature*, 1982. Fowler offers a genre taxonomy which is historical and which has a whole new range and flexibility. Although he modestly claims to focus mainly on English literature, he offers a vast sweep in both historical and geographical dimensions, and he registers with unprecedented force and clarity the way in which genres are for ever interpenetrating each other and so being modulated into new forms and potentials. In all this he has something like Pope's sense of the

symbiosis between cultural inheritance and originality: the modulations he observes are within and by means of genres, but they are brought about by individuals. At the same time, however, he also develops some hints given in E.D. Hirsch's account of literary hermeneutics (Hirsch 1967, 1976). Whereas previous scholars had centred almost entirely on the writer's end of things, proposing ways in which genre has either helped or hindered him, Fowler stresses that the cultural reality of genres is a positive help to readers. As they get to grips with a text, they pragmatically contextualize it within the cultural frame of reference of which genres are a major part. And in listing fifteen different dimensions along which literary genres can be classified, Fowler is careful to include some which are not merely internal features of style, character, plot motif and so on. He also gives some recognition to the relationships between genres and particular occasions, to the kind of interpersonal relations they entail, and -- in keeping with his hermeneutic interest -- to the type of task involved for the reader.

4.2. Recent contextualizing approaches to literature

In this Fowler comes close to several other types of contemporary scholarship, all of them in various ways attempting to relate literary texts to contexts of writing and reading. Sometimes within a Marxist

framework, there is much discussion of how certain texts, as the result of socio-cultural forces, come to be designated as literary in the first place (e.g. Eagleton 1983: 1-16). "New" historians (e.g. Greenblatt 1980) are developing fascinating and unexpected aspects of the consubstantiality of literary texts with the cultures in which they are written and read, and even the more traditional historical approach is renewing itself, not least by establishing closer links between the tasks of the bibliographer and the critic: the literary text's circumstances of publication are being brought into the very centre of the interpretative arena (e.g. McGann 1985). Somewhat similarly, *Rezeptionsästhetik* is relativising the significance of literary works to the horizons of expectations of particular audiences (e.g. Jauss 1982), while German and Dutch empirical literary scientists are busily testing the responses of real readers to particular texts (e.g. Schmidt 1982). Again, the West's discovery of Bakhtin (e.g. Bakhtin 1983) is leading to insights into relationships between the languages of literature and the wide range of sociolects -- the "hetero-glossia" -- operative within any language community.

5. Literary pragmatics

This, too, is where we come to literary pragmatics, in which the stress on context is partly a way of qualifying the extreme epistemological

scepticism of deconstruction. Literary pragmatics accepts that the relationship between the two halves of the sign is arbitrary and unstable, but sees the process of semiosis as for ever freezing in its tracks, so that communication can nevertheless take place and things be done in the world. It is alive to the pragmatic conventions by which words and actions in a given milieu are usually interpreted, and is much more interested than deconstruction in the non-ideational, social dimensions of language and literature. Unlike deconstruction, in other words, it is not greatly sceptical of the existence of language-external realities, particularly as regards the world of other people. It strives, rather, to bring out the interpersonality of literary activity. So if deconstruction was strongly epistemological, literary pragmatics combines epistemology with sociocultural history.

This means that literary pragmatics is in line with the contextualizing types of literary scholarship already mentioned. But as will already be apparent it is also attuned to recent advances in linguistics. More and more linguists are coming to see entire processes of production and reception as specific to particular sociocultural, situational and interactional circumstances. This trend towards contextualization can be traced in speech-act theory, discourse and conversation analysis, pragmatics, anthropological linguistics, functional linguistics, psycholinguistics and sociolinguistics.

Literary pragmatics incorporates the contextualizing insights of both linguists and literary scholars, and in doing so seeks to circumvent one of the main stumbling blocks to previous attempts to bring linguistics and poetics closer together. From the Russian Formalists onwards, it has often been argued that language is the material from which literature is made, and that literary categories are therefore predetermined by, and even coextensive with, hard-core linguistic categories. Taken to extremes, this resulted in those "bottom-up" analyses of literary texts which loaded every phoneme with definite artistic significance. Linguists could easily tire of it, since it involved little more than exhaustive descriptions. Literary scholars could easily feel that it represented a positivism blind to larger and more subtle organizations and effects, including some of those in which language played a significant part. The promise of literary pragmatics, on the other hand, lies in its inclusion of a "top-down" perspective from the very start. Drawing on Enkvist's processualism (Enkvist 1991), Bakhtin's sociological poetics (Bakhtin 1981), and Roger Fowler's account of literature as social discourse (Fowler 1981), it sees the writing and reading of literary texts as interactive communication processes which, even though they are not face-to-face, one-to-one or contemporaneous, are inextricably linked, like all such processes, with the particular sociocultural contexts within which they take place. It takes for granted that no account of communication

in general will be complete without an account of literature and its contextualization, and that no account of literature will be complete without an account of its employment of the communicative resources generally available.

In short, it is *not* basically a type of literary scholarship which borrows theories and techniques from a separate discipline of linguistics, and it is *not* basically a type of linguistic scholarship which uses literary texts as examples. It aspires to be at one and the same time both literary and linguistic. It centres on what we have come to call literary texts, but it does not fundamentally distinguish the communication between literary writers and their readers from any other type of language communication. Poetics and linguistics come together in a common concern with contextualization.

6. Genres in literary pragmatic thought: four problems for a contextualizing account

This is not the place for a full account of the scope of literary pragmatics (for which, see Sell 1991(b) and Sell forthcoming(a)), but it will already be partly apparent that a main concern is to develop a sociocultural definition of literature. I myself have sometimes gone to the point of nominalism: a literary text is a text which is designated as literary within a certain milieu. But we clearly need something more

subtly compartmentalized than this. Alastair Fowler's work has already begun to show that genres are central to the pragmatics of literary production and reception, a point which other contemporary genre scholars have developed in ideological terms: each genre has its own ideological loading, which in parody and genre modulation are played off against each other (cf. Dubrow 1982: 115-118). Literary pragmaticists need a way of distinguishing one genre from another which at the same time will reflect the consubstantiality of particular instances with their sociocultural circumstances of production and reception. And this is where four fundamental problems arise.

6.1. Changes in genres

First, as I said at the beginning, the account must be able to deal with changes in genres over time. Especially after Alastair Fowler's work, the fact that they do change is not in dispute. Any new account of them must take cognizance of the tension at any given time between their relative stability and relative instability, suggest human and social reasons for this, and show its pragmatic consequences in processes of communication. In this last connection, the literary pragmaticist will argue that genre acts like any other temporary social convention serving to freeze semiosis in its tracks so as to allow things to be said and done

in the world.

6.2. Individual versus culture

Secondly, there is the question of the individual versus the culture, which of course is a fundamental problem in philosophy. I have already cited several instances of both the extreme positions in this debate, and more than hinted at my own preference for a position which may be attacked as a precariously naive piece of fence-sitting, neither neo-classical nor modern, neither cooly scientific nor liberal humanist.

It really does seems to me that there are individuals, that they can choose, and that they can also do new things. (I am aware that what I am calling individuality may also be determined, genetically. But I leave that on one side.) And then there is culture, and culture certainly does entail frameworks and exert pressures. Croce, up to a point, is right: every true work breaks generic laws. But how would its truth be either constituted or recognized if there were not generic laws for it to break? There is much that is still suggestive in the way the Russian Formalists extended their concept of artistic defamiliarization from language to genre -- for instance in Shklovsky's essay of 1921 on *Tristram Shandy* (Shklovsky 1965) --, an approach to which Mukarovsky, in 1936, added a social framework (Mukarovsky 1970) which deserves to

be better known.

6.3. Historically specific versus universal

Thirdly, the contextualizing account of genres will have to make allowance for combinations of more than one kind of contextual factor. It will have to conceive of context at one and the same time broadly and narrowly, with both lesser and greater degrees of historical specificity. In a way, this point is analogous to the previous point about culture versus individual, and here too we have yet another fundamental philosophical problem about the nature of man. If, as I believe, man is partly socially conditioned and partly individual, is that all? Is everything in him that is not culturally determined individual? Or is there also a second kind of determination? (Again I do not mean his personal genetic coding.) Do some of his features also stem from a universally programmed human psyche -- from, in old-fashioned language, an unchanging human heart?

Once again, I may be attacked as a fence-sitter. I believe that it is not true to say that people in one culture can never have the faintest idea of what people in other cultures feel. And I also believe that people in different cultures can never feel the same things *exactly*. Some genres -- panegyrics on the king's birthday, for example -- actually seem more strongly conditioned by cultural circumstance. Others -- tragedy, for

instance -- seem of far wider applicability. Yet the way a genre functions can always involve, I believe, a compounding interplay between a universal humanity and particular historical formations.

6.3.1. The function of genres: a theoretical retrospect

This third problem has a long history in literary thought. Ideas about how genres function have ranged from the universalizing to the historically very specific. Because the problem is so central to the thrust of my present questioning, a brief theoretical retrospect may be in order, after which it may also be easier to present the fourth problem.

To begin with the universalizing kind of account, we must again return to Aristotle. Aristotle suggested that the origins of artistic imitation lie in man's delighted curiosity for knowledge, and that the main effect of tragedy is catharsis -- the purgation of pity and fear. Clearly his analysis here is far from its most historical or political. Rather, he speaks of man's psyche as universally and eternally the same, and as if the only things to be curious about, and to be pitied and feared, came either from the gods or as the result of a man's own personal flaws of character. This suppresses historically institutionalized injustice in the way entailed by Aristotle's own particular ideological formation and power base as, among other things, tutor to the conqueror of the known world. The

social discriminations he does make are mainly in the question of subject-matter: comedy contains low characters, tragedy high characters. And the only connection of this with his functional theory is his claim that *all* men will feel pity and terror at the sufferings of great men.

Even though *The Poetics* was not itself well known in the west until the fifteenth century, something very like Aristotle's account, including its gaps, has often been repeated. No less indiscriminately than post-Romantic critics looked for creative imagination in every genre, many pre-Romantic critics, when they spoke of function at all, saw all types of literature as conveying some knowledge or experience which was universally relevant. Horace's neat formula, *dulce et utile*, was seminal, and the medieval account of allegory was of course to much the same effect. In our own century, the idea that genres have a foundation in general human psychology has been put forward by Paul van Tieghem (1938): Each emotional taste, each social or religious need, is the root of a different genre which blossoms more or less happily. This kind of thinking was also very apparent in André Jolles' account (1972; first pub. 1930)) of simple forms, i.e. forms such as the myth, the joke or the riddle, which he said are as universal as human language, are intimately connected with the human process of organizing the world linguistically, and can underlie sophisticated literary works. As for the Aristotelian subsumption of social discriminations under internal content, the same

tendency can be seen in the so-called Wheel of Virgil, immensely influential during the later middle ages, and in the ingenious map of literature devised by Thomas Hobbes (see Figures One and Two). Even when, as regularly happened up until the Romantic period, the threefold style distinction included in such schemes was converted into a principle of decorum for the practising writer, the writer's own circumstances of work were still specified in the most general way. It was up to him to know what counted as occasions for high, medium or low style in his own culture.

From the Romantics onwards, we find a number of accounts of genre function whose terms of reference are intermediate between a universal humanity and a detailed sociocultural specificity. A genre is said to be the expression of a general need of a particular people during a certain period or of mankind in a certain phase of development. For Hegel (trans. 1975: II 1045) the epic reflected "the child-like consciousness of a people [who feel] no separation between freedom and will." For Nietzsche (1872) Greek tragedy arose when the austere harmony and comforting radiance of Appollonian culture was challenged by the darker knowledge and musical life-spirit of the Dionysiac. Brunetière (1890), in an exercise in literary Darwinism, linked the development of satire to the rise of the bourgeois spirit. For Malinowski (1923) the oral stories told by Trobrianders enhanced the solidarity of the group, for instance by

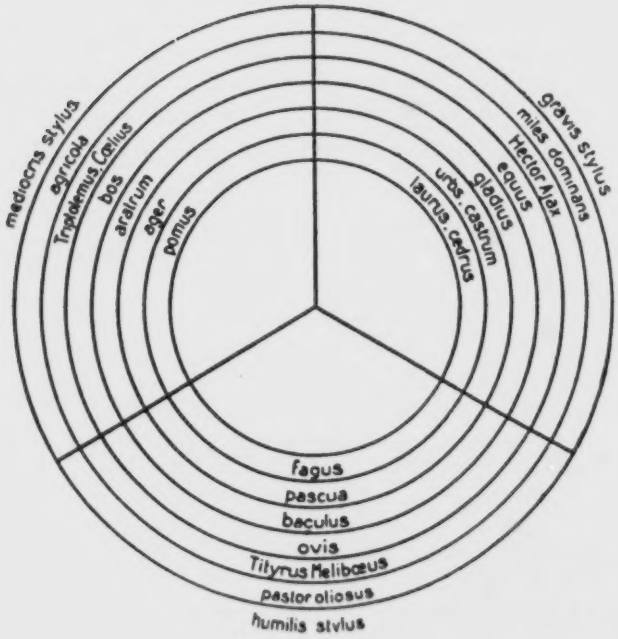

FIGURE ONE: THE WHEEL OF VIRGIL (from Fowler 1982: 240)

	NARRATIVE	DRAMATIC
Heroic COURT	EPIC POEM	TRAGEDY
Economic CITY	SATIRE	COMEDY
Pastoral COUNTRY	BUCOLIC/PASTORAL	PASTORAL COMEDY

FIGURE TWO: THE SCHEME OF THOMAS HOBBES (cf. Spingarn 1908: II 55)

reminding them of the need for unity in face of famine. And for Walter Ong the performance of an oral epic can "serve simultaneously as an act of celebration, a *paedeia* or education of youth, as strengthener of group identity, as a way of keeping alive all sorts of lore -- historical, biological, zoological, sociological, venatic, nautical, religious -- and much else" (Ong 1982: 161).

Considerably more specific is the form-historical school of German protestant theology represented by Bultmann and Gunkel. This strongly stresses that each of the various genres to be found in the Bible stemmed from a very definite function or locus in life -- a typical situation or mode of behaviour in the life of the community (cf. Jauss 1982: 100--103). A remarkably similar approach is found in those renaissance poeticians who, unlike so many of their colleagues, did *not* decontextualize genres, and could sometimes be very specific indeed. I quote from the description given in George Puttenham's *The Arte of English Poesie* (1589) of an epithalamium. The first part of such a poem was sung

> at the first parte of the night, when the spouse and her husband were brought to their bed, & at the very chamber dore, where in a large vtter roome vsed to be (besides the musitiens) good store of ladies or gentlewomen of their kinsefolkes, & others who came to honor the marriage; & the tunes of the songs were very loude and shrill, to the intent there might no noise be hard out of the bed chamber by the skreeking and outcry of the young damosell feeling the first forces of her stiffe & rigorous young man, she being, as all virgins, tender & weake, and vnexpert in those maner of affaires. ... The tenour of that part of the song was to congratualate the first acquaintance and meeting of the young couple, allowing of their parents good discre-

> tions in making the match, then afterward to sound cherfully to the onset and first encounters of that amorous battaile, to declare the comfort of children, & encrease of love by that meane cheifly caused: the bride shewing her self euery waies well disposed, and still supplying occasions of new lustes and loue to her husband by her obedience and amorous embracings and all other allurements. (Smith 1904: 53-54)

6.4. Old genres in new contexts

The fourth problem to be faced by a literary pragmatic account of genre is that genres break free from their locus in life, and in two different senses.

First, new works can continue to be written in an old genre long after developments in sociocultural history have deprived the genre of its original specific function. This has been recognized even by Marxist literary sociologists, who no longer apply the theory of reflection in a simplistic way. They still find cases where the interdependence of social infrastructure and ideological superstructure accounts for literary forms, but they also say that literary genres, after the moment of their social formation, achieve a life of their own and an autonomy which reaches beyond their historical hour of fate, thus enjoying an anachronistic afterlife (cf. Jauss 1982:91).

Secondly, a particular work which was written when its genre was still closely linked to a locus in life often continues to be read and thus to

instantiate the genre in later ages when that locus no longer exists. John Stuart Mill drew a distinction between eloquence and poetry: that eloquence is heard, poetry is *over*heard. But obviously poetry is slightly less *over*heard by its first readers than by later ones, and eloquence too -- indeed *all* uses of language -- can be overheard, when experienced by listeners or readers not belonging to the audience originally envisaged. Linguists often talk as if all communication took place directly between the sender and the intended receiver. But by far the majority of the utterances we receive and process during the course of our lives are not directed to us specifically. Often we are anything but uncurious about them. And we often have a real sense of learning something from them, something important to ourselves. Nor is my echo here of Aristotle's account of the psychological attractions of artistic imitation fortuitous. Our assimilations and transmutations of the meaning of literary texts, our accommodations of their socioculturally and interpersonally not immediately relevant discourse to our own interests, find parallels in much of our other language reception.

When a literary genre breaks free of its original locus in either of these ways what function does it then have? Does it operate entirely at the level of the universal, appealing to an unchanging human heart? Does it take on some specifically social function that is new? Does it acquire an autonomously literary function of some sort? And all this

raises a still more general problem: We want to talk about the function of a literary genre, but function as defined in *whose* teleology? That of a writer actually working in the genre? Of the first readers of his work? Of later readers? Of subsequent national historians? Psychologists? Sociologists? Of literary critics in the twenty-second century? -- if there are any.

7. The socio-semiotic view of genre

As I have said, literary pragmaticists regard the writing and reading of literary texts as communication processes not essentially different from other such processes, and they try to draw on insights in current linguistic thought, particularly approaches which link linguistic expression to interaction. As far as I can gather, the top-down linguistics associated with Halliday might be of particular relevance since it makes the link between sociocultural function and textual manifestation so explicitly. More particularly, socio-semioticians operate with concepts such as contextual configuration and generic structure potential.

Figure Three is based on Ruqaiya Hasan's account of these (Halliday & Hasan 1985: 97-116). Hasan explains that a culture is expressed by the totality of what is meaningful and consists of semiotic systems that cover ways of being, saying and doing. These systems construct and

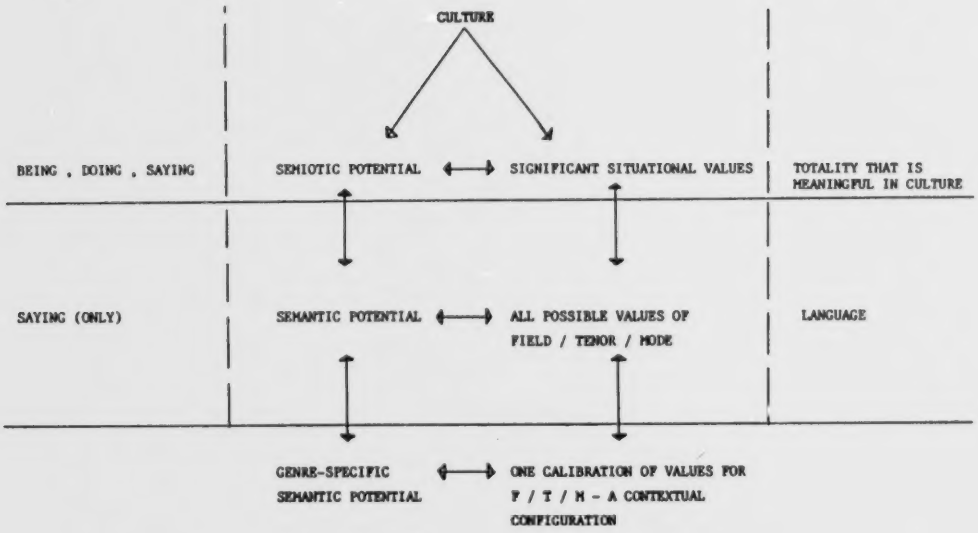
CULTURE
BEING , DOING , SAYING
SEMIOTIC POTENTIAL
SIGNIFICANT SITUATIONAL VALUES
TOTALITY THAT IS MEANINGFUL IN CULTURE
SAYING (ONLY)
SEMANTIC POTENTIAL
ALL POSSIBLE VALUES OF FIELD / TENOR / MODE
LANGUAGE
GENRE-SPECIFIC SEMANTIC POTENTIAL
ONE CALIBRATION OF VALUES FOR F / T / M - A CONTEXTUAL CONFIGURATION

FIGURE THREE: HASAN'S ACCOUNT OF GENRES (based on Halliday & Hasan 1985: 100)

make perceptiple significant situational values, which will provide the frame for the appropriate exchange of meanings: there is a bidirectional relation between situation and meanings. The meanings expressible by saying, and all the possible contexts of saying, come at the next level down in the diagram, and at the third level these are split up into genres for saying more specific things in more specific kinds of context. A particular contextual figuration of field, tenor and mode will be associated with a particular generic structure potential. What does not appear from Figure Three is that statements of generic structure potential distinguish between structural elements that are obligatory for the genre to perform its function, and elements that are optional. They also indicate any degree of flexibility possible in the ordering of elements. So a sales service encounter does not have to contain a greeting, and if there is an enquiry about the availability of goods this has to precede the transfer of goods. Then, of course, there would be a further level or further levels, at which the structural elements are realized in linguistic forms.

If I have understood it correctly, this account harmonizes in several respects with literary pragmatics. It would seem to cater for literary genres no less than for any other type of genre, to make them no less meaningful and communicative, and yet not reduce them to other genres. In the contextual configuration one could presumably include information to the effect that the communicator has chosen the tenor of a literary

writer (novelist, poet or whatever) and that his mode is correspondingly literary, and one could follow this through in describing the generic structure potential (roman à clef, love lyric or whatever) and the detailed linguistic realization. By the same token, literary genres, like other genres, would presumably have no less potential for interaction than specific ways of being and ways of saying. Herein, for me, lies the chief interest of the socio-semiotic approach, and I should like to know how it would deal with literary communication in more detail.

For one thing, I think this account might well be able to accommodate the observation that formed the basis of my third problem (section 6.3 above): the fact that genre functions may be non-unitary and range from the universal to the socioculturally more specific. It would be possible, I should have thought, to develop ways of talking about field and tenor which would take this into account. Unless I am mistaken, socio-semioticians already handle these two concepts in a common-sense and somewhat ad hoc manner rather than according to some rigid system.

Similarly, although this account does not provide answers to all the questions I raised under my fourth problem (section 6.4 above), it could surely accommodate the central observation that genres sometimes sit very loosely to their orginal locus in life. Under field one could presumably specify, where necessary, that the subject matter is of a kind that is no longer, in an immediate way, socioculturally active. And

where necessary, one could specify under tenor that the writer and reader lived in two different periods. In this way one could perhaps begin to recognize the facts of "overhearing".

As for my first two problems, on the other hand, the way genres change over time (section 6.1 above), and the tension between the individual and the culture (section 6.2 above), I suppose it would be quite misguided to expect an account such as Hasan's to be of help in its present form. The account is synchronic. For the purposes of structuralist analysis, it treats the potentialities for meaning, action, being and speech as if they formed a rigidly fixed grid. It is not concerned to show how the range of possibilities might be extended or limited. It tends to emphasize social formations and takes no stand at all on the question of free-will. There is no way of knowing whether its proponent is a philosophical determinist, and since, unlike literary pragmaticists, her interests here are not diachronic, her silence is unimpeachable.

All the same, her account of generic structure potential is already far from inflexible. There are, we have noted, optional as well as obligatory elements, so that the genre can already have a certain autonomy vis à vis its specific function. And when Eija Ventola (1987) turns a similar model into a flowchart for service encounters she indicates openings for mixing, embedding, switching, recursions, omissions and side-programming, which can give rise to sub-genres and a duality of roles for the

participants. In all this, the idea of the historical modulation of genres may be only just round the corner.

8. Genre modulation: an example

By way of conclusion, the topics on which I should particularly like to press my questions are: genre modulation; the problem of individual initiative; and the changing functions of a genre when particular instantiations of it break loose from their original locus in life. Can the socio-semiotic genre theory somehow be rotated from a synchronic plane to a diachronic one? Does the theory maintain an inflexible social determinism? How does the theory account for the "overhearing" of genres by people not belonging to the group of most directly envisaged recipients.

In order to concretize these issues, I should like to offer a few observations about two English poems, and to ask what the socio-semiotic theory would say about them. The poems are so well known that I shall not even need to reproduce their texts. But what certainly is now necessary -- and this in itself is relevant to the problem of "overhearing" -- is a few words about their original contexts.

By 1854, British cavalry regiments were often criticised for being old-fashioned and unsoldierly, less interested in fighting than in flaunting a

handsome, lady-killing appearance in their splendid uniforms. But then, during the Crimean War, a shocking event took place. A body of cavalry was ordered, by mistake, to make a charge at a body of artillery. To carry out the order was to ride straight into almost certain death. And that is what six hundred men did. The event was widely reported in the press, and Tennyson wrote "The Charge of the Light Brigade" and sent it to a newspaper for publication.

Sixty-two years later, by Easter 1916, the First World War had already been under way for nearly one and a half years. By then, too, the cause of Irish nationalism had its roll of martyrs -- Fitzgerald, Emmet, Wolf Tone, Parnell, O'Leary --, but had also bourn fruit in the Home Rule Bill of 1913. One person who had rather ambivalent feelings about the cause was W.B. Yeats. He was personally impressed by O'Leary, he admired Lady Gregory and other great landowners for patronizing the arts in Ireland, and he saw the peasantry as a rich source of imagination and mythology. But he despaired at the money-grubbing small-mindedness of the Irish middle class, and wrote a poem, "September 1913", satirizing their refusal to build an art gallery to house a collection of Impressionist paintings offered as a gift to Dublin by Sir Hugh Lane. When the First World War broke out, the implementation of Home Rule was shelved, and rumours started to circulate that England would not keep faith. Then, while the battle of the Somme was dragging on, came the Easter

Rising, in which a group of Irish patriots, with German support, tried to take control of Dublin. They were forcefully repressed by England, so that the cause gained new martyrs, and at this point Yeats added a note to "September 1913" to the effect that the poem now seemed out of date. He also wrote a new poem, "Easter 1916".

I shall not attempt to formalize the cultural configurations, but the two situations clearly have much in common. Tennyson and Yeats both felt that the reputation of a maligned group of people needed reconsideration after their heroic action and death. If we think in socio-semiotic terms of the potentials for being, saying, and doing, the two poets have made similar choices. They have not decided to *do* something, such as assassinating the British Prime Minister. They have decided to *say* something, in writing (to gain greater clarity and permanence), in print (to gain publicity), and poetically (to draw still more attention to itself).

Both poems are about the death of the brave people, but if one had only read Tennyson's "The Charge of the Light Brigade" one might well assume that it is more or less definitive for the genre involved. In many ways it certainly does consummate the entire tradition of lamentation about which Peter Levi has written so eloquently (Levi 1991: 5-26).

In the flexible spirit of Hasan's model, but using the term "features" to refer to both her level of "elements" and the level of linguistic realization, we could easily imagine that some features of this kind of

poem would be optional or alternative. It could be written in a high style reminiscent of an epic, or in a low style reminiscent of a ballad; or, like the poem Tennyson actually wrote, it could be a mixture of the two. Again, the poem could have considerable length or, like Tennyson's poem, be shortish. And presumably the heroic action could either be particularized to the deeds of individuals or, as in Tennyson, treated in a more general way as the behaviour of an entire group of characters. Some things, though, one would surely expect to be obligatory. The heroic action would have to *be* narrated. It would have to be narrated in the third person, singular or plural. The value of the heroic deed would have to be responded to as straightforwardly unquestionable. And the style would correspondingly be one of plain, if not unemotional statement.

"The Charge of the Light Brigade" in fact became so well known that it was bound to enter into intertextual relationships with anything Yeats might have written in his later situation. But one can well imagine a Bloomian account of Yeats's anxiety under the pressure of his great predecessor's example. After "Easter 1916", the genre was no longer quite the same.

Stylistically, Yeats's poem has even greater variety than "The Charge of the Light Brigade". The first ten lines or so are decidedly low-key -- one cannot help thinking of Joyce's *Dubliners* -- whereas the last ten or

so lines are in an altogether higher style, almost court-like, and the central passage about the stone in the midst of the stream belongs to yet a third, symbolist mode. The length, too, may create a slightly surprising new option, being neither exactly long nor exactly short. But a greater surprise is in the matter of narration. Not only are both the generalizing and individualizing alternatives rejected. There is actually no narration of the heroic action at all: a putatively obligatory feature is quite missing. The opening lines seem like the beginning of a story, and the closing lines seem like a retrospective comment on a story. But instead of an explicit narrative middle, there is only a series of epitaphs on particular rebels, and somewhat puzzling ones at that: they are not altogether flattering, and with every passing year their precise historical reference becomes more cryptic. Maybe the rebels' brave actions were associated with scenes that to Yeats's taste were too urban and bourgeois -- the taking of the Post Office, after all! Yet the narrative gap also connects with other generic innovations. The pronouns of the story-like beginning and end include the second person singular and plural: the strategy throughout is to foreground *responses* to events rather than the events themselves. For, and this was the positively shocking innovation, the response is troubled and ambivalent; the value of the heroism is questioned; and the beauty is a terrible one. So complex, in fact, are the feelings expressed that -- in the symbolistic passage -- even plain

statement is cast aside.

I say shocking. But of course Yeats's poem is much less shocking for us now than for its first readers (cf. Sell forthcoming (b)). Yeats was coming to the same conclusions about patriotic fervour as some of the poets who were being killed in the trenches of France. His poem falls into place beside Owen's "Dulce et decorum est", and both of them thereby seem the more natural. We are not the first audience. In a sense we steal Yeats's poem, and misuse it. The editors of anthologies may annotate it for us. But in our own way we should manage in any case, and the poem would become less and less about the particular martyrs and more and more about martyrdom in general. With the uncanny eye to immortality of a great artist, Yeats foresaw this trend towards universalization, and especially in the symbolist passage. So even an occasional poem could be functional both for an age and for all time. And even a piece of symbolist writing could have force at the particular moment of history. Not least because the two were generically merged.

But our creation of new meanings and functions is not reserved for the obsolete genres or texts of literature, and this is one reason why I hope that socio-semioticians will be interested in the questions I am posing. All the time, we are "overhearing": we are processing language which was not directly intended for our ears or our eyes. Furthermore, the

allegorical readings of ancient and biblical texts proposed by mediaeval scholars are only the most obvious illustration of a basic fact of life: expressive intent and receptive processing are seldom perfectly parallel. It is not only *literary* genres that have lost their locus in life or become subject to modulation. Many young couples today do not have a traditional wedding service, or omit some of the old promises. And in a supermarket, you don't often ask about the availability of goods.

Happily, what goes on at congresses of socio-semioticians is not so impersonal. So let me complete my initiating move: "Can you help me, please?"

9. Postscript, 1991

Now that this paper is going to published, it will perhaps elicit some written response from the Hallidayan community. In the meantime, I gratefully record the kindness with which my questions were received by participants in the Helsinki Congress, and the helpfulness of their answers and suggestions. For many socio-semioticians, the concern with genre is indeed as central as I had begun to realize. Michael Gregory (1988), Jay L. Lemke (1987), James R. Martin (forthcoming), Terry Threadgold (1989), and Tony Bex (forthcoming) have all done work which must be taken into account. Bex writes specifically about literary genres, and

Threadgold's analysis of the ideological dimensions of genre is strongly rooted in history. Recent work by other Hallidayans tends to confirm that their interest in history is becoming ever stronger (see e.g. Birch and O'Toole 1988, and the review article on this by Sell (forthcoming (c))).

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PROSE DIALOGUE AND DISCOURSE

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1. Introduction

Although Salinger's dialogue in Catcher in the Rye has been acclaimed as a reproduction of 'authentic' teenage idiom, Salinger himself wrote "I wouldn't dream of using what people actually say for dialogue in novels ... nobody would believe it" (Wilson 1985: 249). Spoken discourse would most certainly be unacceptable in the written medium. Nor are the established conventions of the written medium equipped adequately to convey the phonological subtleties and undertones of speech. Novelists use dialogue to imitate or mirror reality, to create the illusion of 'real' life and 'real' people, but writing carries with it such different expectations and alternative realizations than speech, as a consequence of the different relationships it involves, that it is not at all surprising how different, and how necessarily different, fictional dialogue is from spoken discourse.

The relative spontaneity of casual conversation carries with it numerous stylistic repercussions. Decoders who share much of the same gnostology[1] as their encoders (see Gregory 1984) seem to have little difficulty in ignoring any infelicities and arriving at perfectly acceptable interpretations (see Malcolm 1985). A single word, a pregnant pause can convey a wealth of meaning to one

who is coming from a common experience. And strangers, who share the same communicator's communicating context, need only a little more structure and completeness, with the occasional gloss, to intepret what has been intended. Yet someone trying to decipher a transcription of ordinary talk might end up hopelessly muddled, unable to get beyond the numerous grammatical irregularities, or bored, by the numerous repetitions that are necessary to communicate a message which would otherwise be over, and perhaps lost to the inattentive listener, in fractions of seconds.

Fictional dialogue does not have the luxury of phonological innuendo, or maximum communication with minimal verbalization as a consequence of gnostological sharing. Although Chothia (1979:8) writes about dramatic dialogue, his words are still relevant to its fictional counterpart "it operates by duplicity: it is not spontaneous, but must appear to be so. It is permanent, but must appear as ephemeral as the speech it imitates ... In sharing the convention the audience (reader) has a share in the duplicity. We simultaneously accept the illusion of spontaneity and know that it is a pretense". Dialogue has to be self-explanatory and self-contained, shorter and surer of its effects, denser, more memorable. The linguistic peculiarities which would 'reproduce' speech may take second place to the overall fictional purpose of the passage.

In real life the spoken word gets much of its meaning from its situation, and the way it is said. As Page (1973: 8 & 9) writes, "the writer must select and draw attention to particular features that are relevant from the fictional situation ... and punctuation is a crude way of conveying pause, tempo, stress,

intonation, volume, and twenty-six letters of the alphabet can scarcely represent the infinite variety and subtlety of spelling". Authors 'represent' speech by intersposing the elaborate code of 'writing to be read' with 'speech markers': hesitation, pause, unfinished sentences, a sudden change of direction, a lively confusion of metaphors, the rushing of one thought into another, the cutting in of one speaker on another's words, as well as certain fashionable idioms, and certain idiosyncracies of construction. The balancing act is an uneasy one: just enough orthographic innovation to approximate a particular character's fictional geographic, temporal and social provenance, but not so much as to confound the reader, and distract him/her from plot development.

So the dilemma of the writer is to create using one medium a facsimile of another (which would be far too wasteful and disorganized to reproduce), to artificially arrange elaborate echoes of the living language in an evocative, suggestive and concentrated way to make us believe that what we hear is a natural utterance.

Burton (1980: 7), Wilson (1985: ix), Frye (1957: 10), Hendricks (1976: 7), and Chothia (1979: 9) acknowledge the difficulties dialogue has presented stylisticians. However, in recent years, discourse analysts, ethnographers, and linguists have come to a more detailed understanding of the very complicated nature of real speech that sheds light on dialogue studies (for example, see Burton's conversational structures 1980: 10-23).

2. Analysis

The purpose of this paper was to take another step in the comparison between discourse: casual conversation specifically, and dialogue: prose dialogue. A step that the introduction of Communication Linguistics and its descriptive methodology: phasal analysis in 1981 by Gregory and Malcolm made possible. Communication Linguistics, a development of Hallidays' systemics model, also incorporated insights from Pike's tagmemics, Lamb's stratificational grammar, and Fleming's communicative model. Phasal analysis first occurred to Gregory and Malcolm when they noticed naturally-occurring chunks of tri-functional consistency emerging from their semological[2] and morphosyntactical[3] analyses of several texts of child discourse (1981). The children's experiential, interpersonal and texual codal selections often remained the same for several sentences. We called this chunk: a 'phase'. The children's phases sometimes began and ended quite abruptly, and were totally unique in their particular tri-functional patterning. However, occasionally they began or ended more gradually: with a formulaic question, perhaps, such as "D'ya know what?". This we called a 'transition', specifically a transition in. Phasal analysis has proved an invaluable tool in the analyses of discourse and dialogue. It details the tri-functional codal selections made, but then enables analysts to go beyond such a micro analysis and make broader statements about how the dynamic instantiation of registerial consistencies called phases

sometimes 'structures' the discourse by forming strings of continuous or discontinuous phases.

2.1. Discourse

Elsewhere I have analyzed four ten minute conversations between adult dyads: two between 'friends' (people who have known each other prior to the recording), and two between 'strangers' (people who have not known each other previously) (Malcolm 1985). Adult conversation (as compared to that of the six-year-olds analyzed: the other half of the corpus) was characterized by comparatively lengthy sentences (10-20 words), with lots of embedding and clause complexes, making up relatively long phases (averaging 20 sentences in length). Semologically, the phases were quite varied experientially (with a variety of process types, and a few circumstances), quite consistent interpersonally (mostly statements, with consistent event mediation), and textually (coherent in terms of endophoric cohesive devices and gnostological exophora, with minimal theme-marking) (see Malcolm 1984). Transitions often marked the beginnings and endings of the adults' phases. Sometimes the phases were cooperatively shared (dialogic control); sometimes they were not (monologic control). Occasionally isolated phases occurred, but generally phases formed 'strings', where one or more feature(s) remained consistent throughout (or progressed in a very gradual, natural fashion) as others changed, marking phasal boundaries. The conversation of adult 'friends' was much more likely to jump from one set of phasal consistencies to another and back again in discontinuous phasal strings than that of 'strangers' which

seemed to progress block by block, offering somewhat of a beginning, middle, and end discoursal scheme. Strangers' talk was syntactically distinct as well. Nouns were more often modified and qualified, secondary predications were more numerous, endophoric cohesion[4] was more important than exophoric coherence[5]. Phases were longer too, as there seemed to be an onus on the stranger to 'complete' sentences, phases, and phasal strings to facilitate decoding. Strangers' lexis was more generalized (see Malcolm 1985 for further details).

2.2. Dialogue

For the prose selections I chose extended passages of dialogue from the fictions of five well-known contemporary Canadian writers: Kroetsch, Watson, Laurence, MacLennan, and Atwood. Semological and syntactic variation was quite predictable, but the nature of their phases and phasal strings was not.

2.2.i. Kroetsch

One of the more stylistically innovative of contemporary Canadian authors, Kroetsch was the only writer in my corpus who used discontinuous phasal strings in his prose dialogue. In the passage I analyzed from Badlands (1975: 204), comprised of thirty sentences, Phase I returned three times. This phase was characterized by compound sentences, non-finite clauses, action processes, place circumstances, personal reference, lexical collocation, expletives and lexis pertaining to fish, landscape, and weather. It was entirely spoken by speaker A: Webb. (P.= phase; S.= sentence)

P.I S. 1 "Goddamned goldeyes.
2 They were coming down like hailstones.
11 And Web: "It was raining fish all around us; goddamned goldeyes coming down all around us, bouncing around, slapping and leaping up there and the water coming down by the bucketful; and then we were rolling uphill."
13 We were up on top of that butte in the sagebrush and cactus and dozens of fish leaping around us; there was enough water up there on top of that butte, they could damned near swim."

Phase IV was also discontinuous, action and verbally oriented, by speaker B:Tune.

P.IV S. 6 "Come on, Webb, " Tune said.
12 "Come on," Tune said.

The narrative Phase V was discontinuous as well, but like Phase IV, it included so little text it did not represent returning or interweaving threads in the same way as Phase I.

P.V S. 10 Dawe saying nothing.
20 Dawe said nothing.

Phases II, III, and VI, although tri-functionally distinct, were spoken by both speakers. These three phases showed a certain degree of commonality: a variety in transitivity selections, the continuous aspect and declarative mood, but they were distinct in terms of predicational roles, lexis and cohesive device. Phase II included various action and mental processes with beneficiaries; parts of the body and death lexis, nominal ellipsis.

P.II S. 3 Could have broke my back"
4 "I thought you were looking at the sky," Tune said.
5 "Threw myself down in that grave to protect Anna".

In Phase III mental processes of verbalization and a relational process realized the primary predications[6], with action processes embedded in the secondary predications involving direct speech. Lexis concerning food, drugs and insanity, and nominal ellipsis were also featured.

P.III S. 7 "You've been chewing locoweed."
8 " Goddamned chinaman, it's the only thing he hasn't fed us."
9 "Something hit you on the head," Tune said.

In Phase VI verbalization also took the forefront with action secondary, but circumstances were embedded in the actual dialogue ("If I could do it 'again' ... 'in the mud'" : time and place). Lexis was animal and sexual; verbal substitution was used cohesively.

P.VI S. 14 Web winded and puffing the words into the mocking stillness of the tent: "If I could do it again, I'd be a hog, wallowing in the mud."
15 "You look like you made it," Tune said.

Phases VII and VIII were similar in sentence structure sequence, and cohesively, involving ellipsis, but Phase VII included action and mental processes as well as relational ones, and Phase VIII was very distinct lexically and cohesively with its repetition of 'inside'.

P.VII S.16 "You won't believe this," Web said.
17 "First time I came I was in a gopher hole.
18 Fucking for dear life.
19 Wasn't half bad.
21 "Pure accident," Web said.
22 "Didn't intend it that way.
23 Wind blowing fit to take the end links off a logging chain.
24 Nothing to hang onto but cactus.
25 "Must have been a badger hole," Tune said.

P.VIII S. 26 "And then we were inside," Web said
27 "Inside what?"
28 "Inside the twister.
29 We were inside.
30 Right dead inside."

Phases VII and VIII were separated by the only transition in the text (sentence 26), which anticipated the 'inside' concern of Phase VIII, but reviewed the 'hole' concern of Phase VII.

The other four passages analyzed were much more conservative: the phases were isolated for the most part, with the occasional continuous string. If Kroetsch's passage was reminiscent of the casual conversation between friends, in terms of its discontinuous phasal strings and 'jumps' from one to the other: the others were more like the conversations of strangers, where completeness and orderliness were prerequisites, given the time restriction inherent in the reading process and possible lack of gnostological 'connectedness' between reader and writer.

Writers, like strangers, do not know their readers/decoders' backgrounds; hence, they prepare for the 'worst': someone who needs virtually everything spelled out, a reader who must have 'all the words', all the fictional character's conversational means actually encoded in as straightforward a way as possible. Often, transitions in and out of almost every phase ease the reader into a new pattern gently, and then prepare him/her for something different. That so many writers depend on this discoursal structuring device is not very surprising given the demands of that particular medium. In fact, in some ways the dialogue of

the fictional characters is even more similar to the casual conversation of children than to that of adults: most notably in its economy and consistency.

2.2.ii.Watson

In Watson's passage of prose dialogue, taken from her story "Brother Oedipus" (1979: 14), the thirty-three sentences can be described in six phases. Phase I, only two sentences in length, is characterized by mental processes as primary predications, and a variety of process types and circumstances in the secondary predications. Exophoric reference (in terms of this particular passage only), and talk and money lexis distinguish it from Phase II.

P.I. S. 1 "We were talking," said Oedipus, "when you came in about the cost of living."
2 "The point under discussion," said our mother, "is the cost of dying"

Phase II, including eleven sentences and transitions in and out (sentences 3 and 12-13), is characterized by varied sentence structure sequence, a predominance of mental processes, with a few relational, lexical repetition as a cohesive device, and conceptual sets relating to tree, cutting, business, and money. Puss' wife and mother are the encoders.

P.2 S.3 "The tree must go and you must pay to have it removed.
4 You must pay, too, for the repair of my drains.
5 This is not a subject I care to dwell upon."
6 "But we must dwell on it," said Puss' wife.
7 "We must face up to facts -- all of us.
8 Are you asking us to sacrifice the tree and to pay for the sacrifice in the bargain?"
9 "Nothing could be clearer," said our mother.
10 "The property will decline in value," said Puss' wife.
11 "The tree is an asset -- valuable landscaping.
12 It shades the garden and insures privacy.
13 Besides we must get a tree surgeon.

Phase III, four sentences by Oedipus, includes a variety of process types; lexis concerning surgeon, nature, and philosophy; a variety of cohesive devices and rhetorical figures (seriation, apposition). The transition in includes the first two sentences.

P.3 S.14 "I said nothing about a tree surgeon," said our mother.
15 "I merely said to have the tree cut down."
16 "A surgeon," said Oedipus, "interferes with the natural cycle of growth and decay.
17 He is a thing monstrous in nature and tolerable only because of the perverted philosophy which we inherit from that barbarous age, the age of reason.
18 That age set loose a whole pack of surgeons -- the economist, the social reformer, the town planner, the street cleaner, the organizer of departments of public works and the curriculum reformer.
19 Behind it all I see the bland-faced Locke with theories of equal rights and baths for everybody."

Phase IV includes mental processes for the most part, various cohesive devices, and lexis pertaining to drinking, emotions, and the church.

P.IV S.20 "You have been drinking," said our mother.
21 "He needs an outlet for his emotions," said Puss' wife.
22 "I have asked him to return to the church -- a church-- I don't care which.
23 He can choose which he likes and I will go with him.

Phase V is even more personal, as relational processes, emotional lexis, and personal reference are featured.

P.V S.24 That's his trouble."
25 "His trouble is that I spoiled him," said our mother.
26 "He was a bright boy.
27 I was strict as I knew how to be, but not strict enough -- or too strict as the books would tell me now."

Phase VI, spoken by Oedipus and his mother, returns to the mental processes seen elsewhere, but now in the context of school, money, and past lexical items, bound together by collocation and verbal ellipsis.

P.VI S.28 "You paid no attention to us at all," said Oedipus.
29 "We grew up as we could."
30 "You remember only the most unpleasant things," said our mother.
31 "Children have most unfortunate memories.
32 At least, Oedipus, we paid your school bills.
33 Your masters should have taught you something."

The phases are distinct, but the stylistic range is narrow making transitions largely unnecessary.

2.2.iii. Laurence

The phases in the passage from Laurence's The Stone Angel (1967: 136) are even simpler than Watson's: sentences are seldom more than a few words in length, and phases a few sentences. Phase I, including three sentences, two of which are narrative, is realized primarily by action processes, lexis pertaining to body parts, and exophoric verbal ellipsis.

P.I S.I "Mother -- come on."
2 A voice, and a hand shaking my shoulder.
3 Startled, I draw away.

Phase II, introduced by an interrogative transition, reminiscent of the children's formulae mentioned earlier, includes processes of mental verbalization and relational identification. Lexical repetition ties the conceptual sets of time, waking, and feelings, together. Declarative, interrogative and imperative mood choices characterize this phase.

P.II S.4 "Eh? What is it?"
5 "It's time," Doris says, with forced patience.
6 "Come on, now."
7 "Mercy, it can't be time to get up yet, can it?"
8 "To get up!" she whinnies.
9 "It's dinner time, not morning."

As in all but Phase I, Doris and her mother both participate in the eleven sentences of Phase III which include a transition in and out. Relational processes of attribution replace those of identification, and a variety of mental processes add to the verbalization of Phase II, and all are tempered by a variety of modality selections. The waking set is further developed, but now verbal ellipsis and substitution account for some of the phase's cohesive properties.

P.III S.10 "Of course, " I come back at her quickly.
11 "I'm well aware of that.
12 I only meant --"
13 "You must have dozed," she says.
14 "It'll do you good."
15 "I never did.
16 I was wide awake."
17 "It must have relaxed you, talking with Mr. Troy.
18 That's fine.
19 I thought it would."
20 "With Mister who?"

Phase IV, seven sentences long, with a transition in and out (sentences 21, 22 and 27), includes predominately action processes tempered by future intention, and food lexis. A new participant is introduced: Marv.

P.IV S.21 "Oh Lord.
22 Never mind.
23 Come on now.
24 Marv's waiting.
25 The meat loaf will be stone cold.

26 After we've eaten Doris announces she's going to the corner store for ginger ale.
27 "I'll come along."

Phase V replaces action with mental reaction, lexical collocation with verbal ellipsis and substitution, food lexis with 'feeling up to it'.

P.V S.28 Suddenly I feel the need to stretch my legs and get a breath of air
29 "Well -- If you feel up to it --."
30 She seems doubtful.
31 "Of course I do.
32 "Why shouldn't I?"
33 "Oh, all right.
34 I thought you'd stay and talk to Marv."

As in the Watson text, the phases are isolated, but here transitions in and out of almost every phase lead the reader very gradually from one to the next. That both encoders participate equally in virtually every phase also contributes to a stylistic predictability that facilitates decoding. Interestingly, Phases II and IV each include at least one transition that is marked by a shift in mood, or a shift from dialogue to narration.

2.2.iv. MacLennan

MacLennan's passage from Two Solitudes (1945:159) contains seven phases, approximately four sentences in length each, two of which are transitions in and out. Phase I is actually somewhat longer, largely as a consequence of what I have called an extended transition in (sentences 1-3). Had sentences two and three been as fully developed as sentence one, rather than single word questions, they may well have been considered a separate phase entirely, but as it stands, they seem to lead into Phase I proper. The Phase, dominated by the priest's words, includes a variety of relational

processes as the primary predications, with a variety of mental processes embedded as secondary. Ellipsis and personal reference account for the phase's cohesion, and lexically, little is specific except the absent participant: Athanase's son. Had the question in sentence eight been answered, it likely would have been considered a transition into a new phase, rather than a transition out of Phase I.

P.I S.I Without preliminaries this time the priest said, "I've been talking to your son again, Mr. Tallard."
2 "Marius?
3 Where?"
4 "That's unimportant.
5 He is well, so far as his health is concerned.
6 But he doesn't want to see you now, and I don't think he should.
7 Later, perhaps, I hope he will see things differently."
8 "Is he still in the village?"

The transitions in and out of Phase II (sentences 9 and 12) are both narrative, which supports the action and spatial focus of the passage. Proper names and furniture comprise the lexis, and lexical repetition ties it together.

P.II S.9 The priest looked about the room and Athanase offered him a chair.
10 "I didn't come here to speak of Marius, Mr. Tallard.
11 I came to speak of you."
12 Athanase knocked the dead ashes from his pipe.

The transitions in and out of Phase III (sentences 13 and 16), like Phase I, are questions by speaker B: Athanase, with the priest's answer to the first comprising the Phase proper. Mental and action processes, and land lexis characterize this phase.

P.III S.13 "Well?"
14 "I've been talking to Tremblay.
15 And some of the farmers whose land you propose to take away."
16 "Well?

Phase IV has a transition out only, another question by speaker B. Mental processes are no longer featured, the land is specified as Saint-Marc, and verbal substitution and extended reference bind the phase together.

P.IV S.17 "You can't do this to Saint-Marc, Mr. Tallard.
18 You know that as well as I do."
19 "What can't I do?"

Phase V involves two narrative sentences with action processes, place circumstances, personal reference, and conceptual sets concerning priest, parts of the body, furniture and dress.

P.V. S.20 The priest made a gesture of impatience but immediately his hand returned to the lap of his soutane.
21 Spreading his legs under the black cloth he leaned forward in his chair.

The cataphoric signal 'it' in the transition in anticipates the introduction of legal lexis in Phase VI. In this phase, both the transtion in and out (sentences 22 and 27-28) are uttered by speaker A. Process types are mixed, and lexical collocation is important cohesively.

P.VI S.22 "I know all about it," he said.
23 "The details make no difference.
24 You're trying to build a factory here."
25 "Is that against the law?"
26 "Lawyers' arguments are useless with me.
27 Are you, or are you not, planning to buy the Tremblay land for a factory?"
28 "And if I am?"

The transition out of Phase VI also acts like a transition in to Phase VII. Phase VII is about buying and selling. Lexical repetition contributes to the cohesion. Future intention tempers verbalization.

P.VII S. 29 "I will tell Tremblay not to sell.
30 I will tell every farmer you have already talked to not to sell."
31 Athanase flushed and rose from his chair.

This passage covers quite a range of events and participants, in quite a range of tri-functional choices. It is very tightly structured though, in terms of its discourse capabilities. Transitions make up half the short phases as the reader is guided through a maze of information. And as in the passage by Laurence, new phases are often signalled by changes in mood, changes from dialogue to narration, or in this case, a change of speaker. In this passage, unlike the others, there is a real disparity in the power held by the interlocutors. Until sentence twenty-seven, speaker B seems to be in the dark, and remains so, despite the questions he raises.

2.2.v. Atwood

The final passage, from Surfacing (1973: 94), is structured as tightly as MacLennan's in terms of five short phases with transitions everywhere, as Atwood relays a myriad of detail in even more complex sentences. The transition into Phase I (sentence 1) includes a question by Speaker A. The transition out includes an unanswered question in direct speech by speaker A and a narrative sentence (8 and 9). The Phase proper is distinguished by an equal split between mental and relational processes at primary predication, with

numerous mental processes within the secondary predications, and a few manner circumstances. Lexical sets pertain to American place names, business associations, and verbalization, primarily. Lexical relations account for the cohesive power of the phase.

P.1 S.I "Where are you from?" I asked, trying to be polite.
2 " Michigan," he said as though it was something to be proud of.
3 " I'm a member of the Detroit branch of the Wildlife Protection Association of America; we have a branch in this country, quite a flourishing little branch."
4 He beamed at me, condescending.
5 "As a matter of fact that's what I wanted to discuss with you.
6 Our place on Lake Erie is, ah, giving out so to say.
7 I believe I can speak for the rest of the Michigan members in saying we'd be prepared to make you an offer."
8 "What for?" I said.
9 He sounded as though he wanted me to buy something, a magazine or membership.

Beginning with a narrative transition in (sentence 10), Phase II includes action processes, nature/retreat lexis, and lexical collocation as the primary cohesive device.

P.II S.10 He swept his pipe in a semi-circle.
11 "This lovely piece of property," he said.
12 "What we'd use it for would be a kind of retreat lodge, where the members could meditate and observe," he puffed, "the beauties of Nature.
13 And maybe do a little hunting and fishing."

Phase III begins with a transtition in question by speaker A (sentences 14 and 15), and ends with a narrative transition out (sentence 18). Mental processes predominate, and time is featured. House lexis is the focus.

P.III S.14 "Don't you want to see it?" I asked.
15 "I mean, the house and all."
16 "I must admit that I've already seen it: we've had our eye on this piece for quite some time.

17 I've been coming up here to fish for years and I've taken the liberty, when no one seemed to be here, of having a stroll around."
18 He gave a small harumph, a voyeur of good social standing caught in the act; then he named a price that meant I could forget about Quebec Folk Tales and children's books and everything else, at least for a while.

Phase IV also has a question by speaker A, a transition in (sentences 19 and 20), but in this case, the out is a comment by the same speaker (sentence 22). In all but Phase V, speaker A's words merely provide the motivating and concluding frame for speaker B's response which accounts for the selections within the phase proper. Phase IV is marked by a fairly even distribution in all three process types although secondary predications are usually mental. The house lexis of the previous phase is further developed, by adding building and utility conceptual sets. The transition out re-introduces time. Lexical relations still account for the binding power of the phase.

P.IV S.19 "Would you change it?" I asked.
20 I foresaw motels, highrises.
21 "Well, we'd have to install a power generator, of course, and a septic tank; but apart from that, no, I expect we'd like to leave it the way it is, it has a definite," he stroked his moustache, "rural charm."
22 "I'm sorry but it's not for sale," I said, "not right now; maybe later."

In Phase V, characterized by thought more than direct speech, other than the transition out, all process types are still important, but the experiential shift is to action. Legal, business, and mortality conceptual sets are now important. As in many of the phases, conjunction contributes to the intersentential cohesion of the passage.

P.V S.23 If my father had been dead he might have liked the proposal but as it was he would be furious if he returned and found I'd sold his house.
24 I wasn't sure I'd be the owner in any case.
25 There must be deeds hidden, property titles, legal papers, I'd have to sign forms or charters, I might have to pay death duties.
26 "Well," he said with the heartiness of the loser.
27 "I'm sure the offer will still be open.
28 Indefinitely, you might say."
29 He drew out his wallet and gave me a card: Bill Malmstrom, Teenie Town, it said, Togs for Toddlers 'n Tots.
30 "Thank-you," I said, "I'll keep it in mind"

Textually, then the phases are not very different from one another. However, the speech function and particular speaker often draw distinct boundaries between discrete experientially defined phases. In this first person narrative passage speaker A controls the movement of the dialogue by his questions, and mirrors the emotional responses by his thoughts; speaker B describes the setting and initiates some minor complications which serve to develop the principal characters and advance the plot.

3. Conclusions

Phasal analysis can contribute significantly to the comparison between casual conversation and fictional dialogue. Although numerous contemporary analysts have come to the conclusion that the latter is, by necessity, only a representation, not a reproduction, it has been difficult to identify exactly how writers have selectively condensed the essence of real talk to create the illusion of authenticity. Chothia believes they do so by consistently incorporating appropriate 'speech markers' from the living language into the patterned

conventions of the written mode, blending the expected with the unexpected. Phasal analysis has revealed something more, something the original encoders were probably not even aware of. In the current corpus, few writers take the risk of creating discontinuous phasal strings in their dialogue. Like the conversation of strangers and even children, they seem to cope with the challenge of creating a whole new world of characters and action (complete with its respective instantial situations and gnostologies), without knowing to what extent it is shared by their potential readers, by writing in a very structured and predictable way. Not only are their sentences often shorter and simpler than those of adult interlocutors, but so are their phases. And in the situations where the characters, for whatever reason, do not share the power equally, phases are often manifested by a single speaker, the one with the power. The ones without guide the reader from one set of tri-functional consistencies to the next by transitions in and out. Moreover, these are often predictable transitions, like those of children: including changes of mood, narrative mode, or speaker. Even when both interlocutors share the power, it is often the job of one particular speaker to introduce the new, and complete the old. And most authors seem to rely on isolated phases, which are complete in themselves, and do not place rigorous demands on their readers' short term memories. Phasal analysis, then, shows how dialogue is organized beyond the sentence, and structured even beyond the graphological conventions with which authors generally comply (an indentation with every change of speaker). Everything and anything to facilitate decoding.

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Footnotes

1. Gnostology - the hypothetical construct that describes where interlocutors store linguistic and non-linguistic knowledge that is a product of their individual and shared experiences of prior situations, and their cultural expectations

2. Semology - the 'meaning' stratum of the realizatory code that describes matters of dialect, register, code, discoursal schema, predicational roles, speech function, cohesion, focus and prominence

3. Morphosyntax - the stratum of the realizatory code in which matters of transitivity, mood, and theme capture the 'wording' of the discourse

4. Endophora - the text forming component of the linguistic code which operates intersententially, is signalled within the discourse by omissions etc., and is satisfied by recourse to the discourse

5. Exophora - those presupposing relationships that give a text 'coherence'and are satisfied non-linguistically by recourse to either the immediate instantial situation, or the non-instantial gnostolgy

6. Predication - the semological classification that refers to a single process and its attending roles; ie. 'He walks.' - actor + action process
'She thinks' - processor + mental process
Primary predication = main clause; Secondary predication = embedded clause

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DIALOGUE AND DISCOURSE IN A NIGERIAN ENGLISH FICTION[1]

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1. Introduction

Several studies have been undertaken by literary critics and stylisticians on African English literary texts generally and Nigerian English prose fiction specifically. But little or no analysis of dialogue and discourse in such texts have been considered. Yet, it does seem that an examination of the phenomenon of speech as manifested in conversational pieces in English prose fiction may not only enhance further interpretation of the text but may also point to the organisation of social interaction among Nigerians. This is particularly so when one considers the fact that Nigerian English literary texts have their own peculiarities based on the expression of indigenous culture and world views.

In this article, the function of dialogues in the overall development of Nigerian English prose fiction is explored. The article explores how the organisation of conversation enhances theme development and character differentiation. The article also makes an attempt to see whether the fictionalised dialogues have relevance for discourse realities within the Nigerian social system.

2. Nigerian English prose fiction as a bilingual phenomenon

Any Nigerian English literary work is a bilingual phenomenon which relates to linguistic and socio-linguistic dimensions of language acquisition and usage. It is a translation of the people's world views or culture which may be linguistic or socio-

cultural. The level of translation varies according to the individual writer's point on the scale of bilingualism which can be represented as in Figure 1:

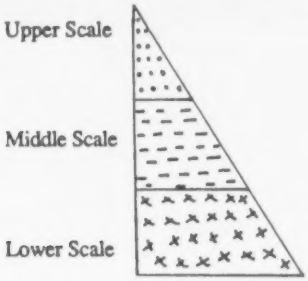

Figure 1. *Author's point on the scale of bilingualism.*

The upper scale is made up of sophisticated bilingual writers. This is the point on the scale where very literate Nigerian English writers can be located. Such writers include Chinua Achebe whose works are used as data in this paper, Wole Soyinka and Festus Iyayi[2]. The middle scale represents the location of writers that are literate but not very sophisticated, e.g. T. M. Aluko, Elechi Amadi[3]. At the lower scale are located writers that can be regarded as apparent translators in that they are not very literate in English, e.g. Amos Tutuola[4].

3. Literary criticism and stylistics approaches

Studies in African prose fiction and indeed Nigerian English prose fiction have largely been carried out by practitioners of literary criticism (see, for instance, Palmer 1972; Killam 1969). In the texts, issues such as characterization, plot, and theme or message are discussed. There is no discussion of the place of dialogues in the texts. Linguists have also started to work on African literary texts in English and specifically on Nigerian English prose fiction. This kind of linguistic work on stylistic features in the writings of Nigerian English prose writers marks a beginning in the examination of African

English literary texts from the linguistic viewpoint.

Oshundare (1979) takes Young's work further by focusing on bilingual and bicultural aspects of Nigerian prose fiction. He discusses in particular the bilingual and bicultural features shown in the styles of Tutuola, Ekwensi, Achebe, and Soyinka. This work shows some awareness of the use of English in Nigeria and some problem areas for the novelist as well as for the international community of readers.

Adejare (1981) attempts a linguistic analysis of a Nigerian English literary text. In examining the style of Wole Soyinka's selected texts, he proposes a textlinguistic approach based on systemic linguistics. He identifies three levels of meaning, Primitive, Prime Order, and Second Order, and links these with the concept of metaphor in language use. These, and other concepts like collocation, cohesion, and translation theory, are used to provide interpretations for the texts selected. The work can be regarded as one of the major efforts in the application of linguistics to non-native Nigerian English literary text analysis. It has contributed greatly to the general understanding of English as a second language and to the identification of an appropriate description of the features of a Nigerian English literary variety from the perspective of a writer's literary idiolect. However, the work does not consider the place of dialogues or conversations in the overall frame of the literary texts.

Oyeleye (1985) moves away from a general treatment of Nigerian English prose fiction to the specific literary genres of Chinua Achebe. He examines the 'language' of Achebe's *Things Fall Apart* in the context of Nigerian English. He considers what he calls 'local colour' observed in both literate and semi-literate speech in the novels. These include the use of proverbs, wise cracks, and aphorisms. No particular linguistic analysis of these features is undertaken. They are simply considered as rhetorical devices in the hands of a practised conversationalist. Although conversation is considered as an important and highly skilful art in the novels examined, no attempt is made to examine its structural organisation.

4. The structure of dialogue in Nigerian English prose fiction

Efforts have been made to improve on the theories of discourse proposed by ethnomethodologists, such as Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson (1974), and linguists, such as Sinclair & Coulthard (1975), and others. Such improvements vary from a consideration of discourse as an exchange system to its application to both highly structured and less structured conversational data (Coulthard & Brazil 1979; Harris 1980; Akindele 1986). Indeed efforts have been made lately to extend systemic network theory to the understanding of not only the exchange structure, but also that of global generic structures (Ventola 1979, 1987, 1988). Such discussions have proved to be very useful in the analysis of discourse (Ventola 1987).

In this section, we shall evaluate the development of generic structure theory and then show how it could help in analyzing the conversation pieces in a Nigerian English prose fiction. A working definition of the concept of 'dialogue' in this article may be useful at this point.

Dialogue as fictionalised conversation is considered as a sub-genre within the macro-genre of prose fiction which is "realised by register, which in turn is realised by language" (Butler 1989: 16). As a sub-genre, dialogue shows "how things get done, when language is used to accomplish them" (Martin 1985: 250). Immediately we notice a dynamic procedural emphasis. Genre, such as conversation, constraints the combinations of field, tenor, and mode selections which are legitimised in a culture. Genre has also been considered as "a typified socially recognized form that is used in typified social circumstances" (Dudley-Evans 1986: 1).

Berry (1981a, b, c) observes that there are problems with the linear approach to the analysis of interactional discourse proposed by Sinclair & Coulthard (1975) and the subsequent modifications of it (Coulthard & Brazil 1979; Burton 1980). She argues that a linear approach to exchange structure "does not allow one to take account of enough similarities and differences ... [but] different patterns of organization are observable in the discourse at the same time" (Berry 1981a: 121). She then proposes a

multilayered exchange system which enables the prediction of structures in an exchange.

Ventola (1987) observes that the Birmingham School model is very inadequate from the point of view of global generic structures. She points out that the analysis of categories and the structure of the highest unit, the lesson, is never reached and, further, that the global generic structures have largely been ignored. This problem has also been pointed out in my earlier work on family conversation (Akindele 1986).

Ventola and others have argued for the presentation of a text not only as a static product but also as a dynamic process. That is, when a person is involved in an interaction, the negotiation with the co-participant on how to proceed the interaction begins. In the process, the planned unfolding of the interaction may change, and these changes have to be matched (Martin 1985). (For a further discussion, see Ventola 1987, 1988.) In an attempt to account for both the product and process of interaction, Ventola (1987) modified Berry's (1981 a, b, c) proposed exchange systems and synthesized it with Martin's (1985) work on speech functions. This synthesis can prove helpful for the analysis of conversation pieces in Nigerian prose fiction, though some slight modifications are necessary due to the nature of the data. Hence we will summarise Ventola's presentation of the exchange structure of texts and show how it is related to the data given in this article.

Following Berry (1981a, c), Ventola (1979: 97) presents the following structural functional slot formula which constrains sequencing in moves:

((D X 1) X 2) X 1 (X 2 f (X 1 f))

This suggests that in an exchange, at least one slot X1 has to be realized. That is X1 is obligatory. Other functions are sequentially ordered so that DX1 may only precede X2, which may in turn occur before X1, which may only be followed by X2f, which in turn may be followed by X1f. The functional slots also determine each other's obligatoriness: X1 is obligatory, X2 presupposes the function X1 in an exchange, DX1 predicts both X2 and X1 and finally, X2f again presupposes X1 and X1f presupposes X1f. Each function can occur only once in an exchange.

The exchanges which are concerned with negotiating information are either knowledge-orientated or action-orientated. The X in the slots above can then be replaced by either K (knowledge) or A (action), (Xl = K1/A1).

The number 1 in K1 stands for the knowledge-orientated slot of a Primary Knower, the person who already knows the information (Berry 1981a: 126) and imparts it for the benefit of the other interactants, as in (1) from *A Man of The People* by Chinua Achebe.

(1) K1 0: I am a teacher at the Grammar Shool
A1 P: Here is your food master

A1 stands for the action-oriented slot of a Primary Actor; the person who is actually going to carry out the action (Berry 1981c: 23). (Note that the subsequent examples used in this article are from Achebe's *A Man of the People*, except for Examples (17) and (18), which are drawn from Achebe's *Arrow of God.)*

The Primary Knower or Actor does something for the benefit of the other participant present; the other participant present is the Secondary Knower or Actor. Having benefitted from a move in the Primary Knower or Actor slot, the Secondary Knower or Actor feels that he ought to acknowledge the preceding move. Such an acknowlegement is carried out in a K2f/A2f slot - the Secondary Knower's follow-up in knowledge and Action exchanges as shown in (2).

(2) K1 N: They are going to give me doctorate degree, Doctor of Laws LLD
K2f 0: That's great
A1 P: Here is your food master
A2f A: Oh thanks

In a K2, the Secondary Knower asks the Primary Knowler to impart knowledge for his benefit, as in (3).

(3) K2 MN: What do you want here
K1 0: I only came to say good bye

In contrast, in an A2 a request to the primary actor to do something for the benefit of the secondary actor is made, as in (4).

(4) A2 0: Can I have some brandy
A1 N: Of course

A K2 or an A2 may itself be optional, but, once realised it must be followed by a K1 or

an A1.

The Primary Knower or Actor may decide to delay the Kl or A1 slot; hence a DK1 slot or a DA1 slot. In a DK1, the Primary Knower delays his admission that he knows the information in order to find out whether the Secondary Knower also knows the information as in (5).

(5) DK1 A: What made Chief Nanga popular
K2 B: His village activities
K1 A: His political skill

In a DA1, the Primary Actor delays the action to ensure the acceptability of the action to Secondary Actor, as for example in (6).

(6) DA1 P: Can I bring your food master
A2 A: Oh yes
A1 P: I don put am for table sir

In an exchange, a DK1 or a DA1 slot must be followed by a K2 or a A2, which in turn must be followed by a K1 or a A1, which can optionally be followed by a K2f or a A2f. The choice of any of the sequences depends on whether the speaker of the first move in an exchange is orientated to 'A - events' or 'B-events' (Labov & Fanshel 1972; Labov & Fanshel 1977). In 'A-events', the first speaker has to be a Primary Knower or Actor. Thus the exchange classified as 'A-events' will start with a Kl or an A1 slot or a DKl or a DA1 slot as shown in (7).

(7) K1 Mrs. Akilo: My husband and I practise jointly
K2f 0: Oh
A1 Nanga: Here is your brandy Odili
A2f Odili: Thanks

If the slot is a DK1 or a DA1 in an 'A-event', the knowledge or action in the exchange is negotiated (delayed) whereas the non-negotiated A-events start with a K1 or a A1 slot. 'B-events' however, start with K2 or A2 slots. In 'B-events', A cannot be the first speaker because A is not the Primary Knower or Actor, as in (8).

(8) K2 0: Are you in private business
K1 Akilo: Oh yes
A2 A: Give me jolof rice Peter
A1 P: Yes sir

With an A1f, the Secondary Actor may acknowledge his appreciation of the Primary Knower's action done in benefit of the Secondary Actor, as shown in (9).

(9)

	DA1	0:	Shall I give master drink
	A2	Max:	Yes
	A1	0:	Okay
	A2f	Max:	Thanks
	A1f	0:	Not at all

A similar exchange can also be realised in a knowledge-orientated event. It is a kind of 'feedback on feedback' often used in casual conversation as a strategy for enforcing speaker change (see Ventola 1979, 1987: 101).

In an action exchange, an immediate action could take place, hence a slot A1: React. But when the action is postponed, because it cannot be performed immediately, then a slot A1: Assent is considered sufficient to complete an action exchange, as in (10):

(10)

	A1: Assent	P:	The food will soon dey ready sir I'll bring it quick
	A2f	A:	Okay
	A1: React	P:	(non-verbal action).

The knowledge- and action-orientated exchanges discussed above are examples of dialogues in Nigerian prose fiction as illustrated by these excerpts from Chinua Achebe's *A Man of the People*. There is, however, another type of exchange which I identified in family conversation and labelled a Prefatory (Akindele 1988). Ventola (1987) identifies such an exchange in service encounters and refers to it as attention-orientated and greeting exchanges. A prefatory-orientated exchange fixes the attention for the interaction and involves a Prefatory slot (Pr) which can be responded to in a Response to Prefatory (RPr) slot, as shown in (11).

(11)

	Pr	Of:	Odili
	RPr	0:	Sir
	Pr	Oduche:	Father
	Rfr	Ezeulu:	uhuh
	Pr	Oduche:	I have a word to say
	RPr	Ezeulu:	I'm listening

There are also two types of greeting exchanges observable in the prose dialogues. The first type is the opening greeting (Gr). The second type is the closing greeting, a Goodbye (Gb). Both have their corresponding pairs, a response to greeting (RGr) and a response to goodbye (RGb). Opening and Closing greetings are exemplified in (12) and (13) respectively.

(12) Gr 0: Good morning Mrs. Nanga
RGr MN: Morning Odili
Gr N: Hello! Odili my great enemy
RGr 0: Hello

(13) Gb Max: Goodbye Odili
RGb 0: Bye Max

The dialogues in Nigerian prose fiction further manifest 'dynamic moves' in exchanges labelled as 'suspending moves' (Ventola 1987: 105-107). These types of moves have been recognised by a number of conversational analysts and have been given various labels - 'side sequences', 'insertion sequences', 'repairs', etc. (see Jefferson 1972; Goffman 1976; Burton 1980; Harris 1980; Martin 1985; Akindele 1986).

Suspending moves are used as "a kind of tracking device which focus on experiential content of a preceding move and check to make sure it has been heard correctly" (Ventola 1987: 105). They concentrate on checking and giving assurance about the transmission of knowledge or action. They could be 'challenges', 'checks', 'back-channels', etc. These dynamic moves help to capture participants' orientation to the making of conversation. A check (check) and a response to a check (rcheck) are illustrated in Example (14) and a backchannel move (bch) in Example (15).

(14) K2 0: Who's she
check A: who
rcheck 0: The girl with the Minister
K1 A: His girl friend
K2f 0: I see

(15) K1 0: We met at the day Chief Nanga lectured...
bch Eddy: Yes
K1 0: I am a teacher at the Grammar School
bch Eddy: Uhuh

The preceding discussion has briefly touched on some aspects of the organisation of conversation in Nigerian English prose fiction. In the next section I shall analyse conversation pieces in some of the texts selected for this study and then attempt to show how they help to highlight theme(s) and character differentiation.

5. Analysis of the dialogic texts

It seems appropriate here to discuss the choice of the text selected as data. Chinua

Achebe's *A Man of the People* has been chosen for the analysis. The text is a political satire, that is, an expose of ministerial incompetence and corruption, social inequalities, rigged elections, thuggery, poverty and disease, female oppression, mass indifference and cynicism, and intellectual bankruptcy. Achebe's literary idiolect is written from the perspective of Igbo culture. The Igbos are one of the three major ethnic groups and languages in Nigeria. The remaining two are Hausa and Yoruba[5]. Achebe represents Igbo world views and sensibilities in his literary texts. In addition to Achebe's *A Man of the People*, references are made to *Arrow of God* by the same writer for the purpose of comparison. In analysing the dialogues in the literary texts used as data, I have tried to identify each of the participants in brackets immediately after the contributions, for example, OF: Shut up (shouted my father), is Odili's father (OF) in line 23 of Example (16).

In Example (16) below, Chief Nanga, the politician, opens the conversation with an opening greeting. He greets a much younger participant, Odili, in the discourse. It is interesting to note that the greeting is not a genuine one but rather a sarcastic one in nature, as shown in line 1. We know this is so because it is very unusual in this type of culture for an older person to greet the younger person first in a social interaction. The older participant would only do this in a sarcastic manner, or if the younger one did not see him at first sight. The subsequent knowledge-orientated exchanges produced by both Chief Nanga, the politician, and Odili's father, who is also present, suggest that there is a quarrel between Odili and the politician.

(16) N = Nanga; O = Odili; OF = Odili's father; * = Point of interruption

N:	Hello! Odili, my great enemy (greeted Chief Nanga in most daring assault)	1) Opening Greeting/ Prefatory Exchange
O:	Hello (I said as flat as the door)	2
OF:	Did you see the Chief Honourable Minister yesterday (asked my father severely)	3
O:	No	4
N:	Let him be sir (Chief Nanga)	5
	He and I like to say harsh things to each other	6
	Don't worry about Odili, sir	7
OF:	Yes -	8
	But he should wait till he builds his own house then he may put his head into a pot there - not here	

	in my house.	9
	If he has no respect for me why should he carry his foolishness to such an important guest (said my father)	10
N:	Never mind sir	11
	I'm no guest here	12
	I regard here as my house and yourself as my father	13
OF:	Yes	14
N:	They hear that Chief Nanga has eaten 10 percent commission and they begin to break their heads and holder up and down	15
	They don't know that all the commissions are paid into party funds	16
OF:	That's right (said my father knowingly)	17
O:	I suppose your new 4-storeyed building is going to be party headquarters (I asked)	18
OF:	Chief the honourable Minister was not taking to you (said my father louldly)	19
0:	Naturally he wouldn't because he knows I know what he knows*	20
N:	What*	21
0:	*The buses, for instance, we all know are for carrying the party, and the import duty...*	22
OF:	Shut up (shouted my father)	23) Regulatory Negative Exchange
	Keep quiet (I carefully withdrew from the talk)	24) Regulatory Negative Exchange
N:	Leave him alone, sir	25
	When he finishes advertising his ignorance I will educate him (said Chief Nanga)	26
OF:	Thank you	27
N:	Have you finished, Mr. Nationalist	28
OF:	Don't mind him, Chief	29
	Let us go into the house (said my father)	30
N:	(he goes in with Odili's father)	31
OF:	Odili (shouted my father)	32
0:	Sir (I answered full of respect)	33
OF:	Come in here (he said)	34
0:	(goes in) (I took my time to get up and walk over)	35
OF:	Sit down - we don't eat people (he said to me)	36
0:	(sits down) (I sat down ostentatiously)	37
OF:	When a mad man walks naked it is his kinsmen who feel shame not himself	38
N:	Yes (acknowledged Chief Nanga)	39
OF:	So I have been begging Chief Nanga for forgiveness on your behalf	40
	How could you go to his house asking for his help and eating his food and then spitting in his face	41
0:	I did not*	42
OF:	Let me finish	43) Regulatory Negative Exchange
	You did not tell me all these things-that you abused him in public and left his house to plot his down fall.	44
0:	I did...*	45
OF:	I said let me finish	46) Regulatory

		Negative Exchange
	Not that you even say anything to me, why should you	47
	Do I know book?	48
	Am I not of the Old Testament	49
0:	I...*	50
OF:	Let me finish	51) Regulatory Negative Exchange
0:	(non-verbal)	
OF:	Inspite of your behaviour Chief Nanga has continued to struggle for you and has now brought you the scholarship to your house On top of that he has brought you £250.00 if you will sign this paper (he help up a piece of paper)	52
N:	Don't say I am interrupting you, Sir (said Chief Nanga)	53)Permission-Seeking Exchange
OF:	Go on (said my father)	54
N:	I don't want Odili to misunderstand me	55
	I'm not afraid of you. You will lose your deposit and disgrace yourself	56
	I'm only giving you this money because I feel that after all my years of service to my people, I deserve to be elected unopposed so that my detractors in Bori will know that I have my people solidly behind me	57
	That is the only reason I am giving you this money	58
	I know those irresponsible boys have given you money	59
	We know where the money come from	60
	We will deal with them after the election	61
	We will show them	62
OF:	Uhuh - yes	63

(from Chinua Achebe's *A Man of the People*, pages 24-25)

Of particular interest to the discourse analyst is the way the organization of the turn-taking system contributes to the understanding of the genre. Social hierarchy based on age is shown to be a factor and Chief Nanga is portrayed to dominate the conversation. But, the control of the discourse is in the hands of Odili's father, with Chief Nanga joining into the talk as a kind of an 'equal' conversational partner. That Chief Nanga is subordinate to Odili's father in terms of age in the conversation is shown by his use of 'Sir' in lines 5, 7, and 11.

In contrast, Odili, a young school teacher is portrayed as a participant who occupies a lower social position in the interaction. His contributions are made minimal and are only allowed when his father decides that he (his father) has finished with his talk. He is thus asked not to initiate any talk, but only to respond to certain allegations made

against him.

Interruption is a phenomenon of discourse that speakers are expected to try to avoid. Younger co-conversationalists are in fact 'forbidden' to interrupt older participants in the Igbo culture. Hence Odili is censored every time he wants to cut into his father's turn and make his contributions. This is marked by *Shut up* (line 23), *keep quiet* (line 24), *Let me finish* (line 43), *I said let me finish* (line 46), which initiate what I have labelled 'Regulatory Negative exchanges' in my study on Yoruba English discourse (Akindele 1988: 113). The fact that Odili is reprimanded by his father for interrupting him is a demonstration of the power associated with the hierarchy of higher social status and evidence of the subordinate role that younger conversationalists are expected to play not only in interactional activities but also in the decision-making process.

The demonstration of the power of social status is further hightened in lines 32-37 in Example (16) when Odili's father employs very strong 'Directives', *Come in here, Sit down*, which Odili complies to immediately. All these have some implications for the character differentiation in *A Man of the People*. First, these show that a person like Nanga, despite being a semi-literate, considers himself more qualified and suitable for a leadership post than Odili - a young, energetic, and very literate school teacher. Second, Chief Nanga's place within the social hierarchy may also account for his corruption, political thuggery, rigging of elections, mass indifference to people's yearning. He has access to power because of the support he receives from semi-literate associates like Odili's father. Odili, on the other hand, is a character who is not only poor but lacks both the social and the economic power to challenge the atrocities of Nanga. Odili is repressed by the society which considers him worthless in terms of leadership, though literate.

The turn taking system in Example (16) points to one significant underlining message of the text in this genre. This has to do with the concept of democracy which the politicians intend to usher in. In fact, democracy is questionable in this context because of the apparent 'inequalities' in social activities and indeed in the decision-making process in the society. One can thus argue that the concept of democracy being

preached in the genre is a farce. The notion of age worship is further strengthened in Example (16) when Chief Nanga (though a wealthy man and higher than Odili's father in terms of social status based on achievement), before cutting in, seeks permission to initiate a series of exchanges. He does this by using the 'permission-seeking' type of Prefatory exchange, *Don't say I'm interrupting you, sir,* after which he is allowed to *Go on* (see lines 53-54; for Prefatory Exchanges, see Akindele 1988: 107). Chief Nanga's deference to Odili's father can partly be interpreted as respect for age and partly as a means of eliciting support from the older group which in turn controls the younger ones.

The extract also reveals the theme of corruption. Chief Nanga is portrayed through the conversation piece as a corrupt, shameless, and heartless politician who could do anything to remain in power. Politics is also shown to be a dirty exercise which people of Nanga's type engage in. Indeed, Odili's father is shown to be a person of Nanga's type who does not see anything wrong in bribery, corruption, and the act of wasteful spending of government funds. Odili is portrayed in the scene as a person who is determined to stop Chief Nanga from continuing with his political thuggery. He is a man who would not be lured by mere material wealth, hence his rejection of Nanga's offer of scholarship and money.

The theme of oppression of women created in Nigerian prose fiction is illustrated in Example (17) below. Women are considered as instruments to be used and dumped whenever a better alternative can be found. They are not seen as objects to be honoured and respected but are rather perceived as baby-producing machines. Example (17) illustrates the image of women in the fictionalised society created in *Arrow of God,* also attested in almost all Achebe's works.

(17) Ezeulu = father; Obika = Son, Matefi = mother

Ezeulu:	What is it, my son	1
Obika:	Nothing	2
Matefi:	What is it, Obika	3
Ezeulu:	Keep quiet	4) Regulatory Negative Exchange
Matefi:	(non-verbal)	5
Ezeulu:	What did you see, Obika	6

Obika:	A flash of lightning	7
Ezeulu:	What happened when you saw it	8
Obika:	I know it was a spirit my head swelled	9
Ezeulu:	What did he look like	10
Obika:	Taller than any man I know	11
Ezeulu:	You have seen Eru, the magnificent, the one that gives wealth to those who found favour with him	12

For instance, in Example (17) the social status of Matefi, the wife of Ezeulu, is reduced to the level of that of her children. Ezeulu is totally in control of the conversation, and immediately Matefi attempts to make her own contribution without first seeking permission from her 'boss', she is reprimanded by, for example, *Keep quiet* (line 4). It should be noted that although socially she and Ezeulu can be placed on the same social hierarchy within the family setting, her sex leads to a sub-stratification within the hierarchy, which makes her a subordinate to the male sex.

It is also interesting to note that 'proverbs' which are considered as the exclusive linguistic and conversational strategy province of elders are mostly produced by the male. It is only on a few occasions that women are portrayed using them in Achebe's texts. Their effective use symbolises the power and status of the speaker within the exclusive world of male politics and public affairs: a world in which women do not participate and from which they are seen to be conspicuously absent. This creates the impression of linguistic and intellectual apartheid.

Structurally, out of the long stretches of conversation in Examples (17) and (18), only a small fraction is produced by women or they play a role in the passages. Women's talk occurs when women join others in responding to a man's initiation which draws ovation or surprises from the audience, or when women are overtly or covertly requested to make their contributions to the ongoing discourse. The organisation of the conversation in Examples (17) and (18) is thus a demonstration of the employment of social hierarchy in relation to the use of power and the dominance of women by men.

The structure of father/children conversation is revealed in (18) below.

(18) Ezeulu = father, Edogo = eldest son; Obika = son; Oduche = youngest son

Edogo:	Tomorrow is Afo	1

Ezeulu:	Yes	2
Edogo:	We have come to find out what work you have for us	3
Ezeulu:	How much of the work on the new homestead was still undone	4
Edogo:	Only the women's barn	5
	But that could wait	6
Ezeulu:	Nothing will wait	7
Edogo:	A wife should not come into an unfinished homestead	8
Ezeulu:	Yes	9
Oduche:	Father, I have a word to say	10) Permission-seeking Exchange
Ezeulu:	I am listening	11
Obika:	Perhaps they are forbidden to help their brothers build a barn	12
Edogo:	Has Oduche not worked as hard as yourself on your homestead	13
Obika:	Yes	14
Ezeulu:	It is Oduche I'm waiting to hear, not you jealous wife.	15) Regulatory Negative Exchange
Edogo:	I am one of those chosen to go to Okperi tomorrow and bring the leads for our new teacher	16
Ezeulu:	Yes	17
	But tell them that tomorrow is the day on which my sons and my wives and my son's wife work for me	18
	Do you hear me	19
Edogo:	I hear you.	20

(from Chinua Achebe's *Arrow of God*, pages 15-16)

As can be seen from Example (18), age is also given its place in the organisation of the talk. The older children, Edogo and Obika, and their father Ezeulu were given the higher social position in the hierarchy while Oduche occupies the lower position. The occupants of the higher position dominate and control the discourse while the younger one is relegated to the background. This is clearly shown in an attempt by Oduche to get into the pool of the on-going conversation. He uses the 'Permission-seeking' Prefatory Exchange characteristic of Yoruba family conversation to gain access to the talk; Oduche: *Father, I have a word to say* - Farther: *I'm listening* (for Prefatory Exchange, see Akindele 1988).

Interruption is also a phenomenon that seems to be 'forbidden' by other younger children in a father/children interaction in the fictionalised Igbo society; hence Obika is reprimanded when he attempts to punctuate his brother's contributions; Ezeulu: *It is Oduche I'm waiting to hear, not you jealous wife.*

6. Conclusion

I have in this article tried to show that conversation pieces in prose fiction could further the interpretation of a literary text. The discussion of the structure of the dialogues seems to have been able to give the reader some insights into some of the major characters and themes of the prose fiction. The analysis further points to the fact that age is a determinant factor in the fictionalised Nigerian English prose fiction just as it is in the social life of the people. The consequences of the analysis of sample dialogic data from Igbo English literary text seems to support the hypothesis made in my earlier work (Akindele 1986) that Nigerian English discourse structure when represented in literary texts, is to some extent, governed by socio-cultural factors such as age and achievement present in the society itself.

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Footnotes

1 I am grateful to Hilary Hillier, Jean Ure, Karen Malcolm, Christian Mathiessen, and Michael O'Toole for their useful comments on the article. I am particularly grateful to Eija Ventola as the organiser of the 16th International Systemic Congress in Helsinki in 1989, for making it possible for me to give an earlier version of this paper at the Conference.

2 Festus Iyayi (1986) *Heroes*. Essex: Longman and Wole Soyinka (1965) *The Interpreters*. London: Heinemann.

3. Elechi Amadi (1966) *The Concubine*. London: Heinemann; Elechi Amadi (1969) *The Great Ponds*. London: Heinemann; T. M. Aluko (1982) *Wrong Ones in the Dock*. London: Heinemann.

4 Amos Tutuola (1953) *The Palm Wine Drinkard*. New York: Grove Press.

5 I have done extensive work on Yoruba social interaction and on Nigerian English literary texts. For details, see Akindele 1986, 1988, 1990, forthcoming.

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SEMANTIC OPTIONS IN THE TRANSITIVITY SYSTEM: AN EXAMPLE OF TEXTUAL ANALYSIS

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1. Introduction

Analysing any piece of discourse within a functional framework implies a recognition of the dynamic relation between signifiers and signifieds, form and function in language. The task of the functional analyst is to watch how meanings are meant, that is, to discover the relation between meaning and wordings that accounts for the organization of linguistic features in a text.

My aim in this article is to discover the latent organization of a text by revealing a semantically motivated pattern of language functions which inform the theme of a story. I hope to show how this pattern of linguistic features in the text provides insights into the literary effects of a description of a scene in a novel. The analysis proposed follows the systemic-functional framework, with an emphasis on the manner in which processes and the participants in processes are represented in the text; that is, my focus is the ideational component of the grammmar, the grammar of transitivity.

As Hopper & Thompson (1980: 251) point out, transitivity, when understood as a global property of a whole clause in which an activity is 'transferred' from an agent to a patient, is a crucial relationship in language. The authors have identified several

parameters of transitivity and proposed a scale according to which clauses can be ranked as more or less transitive. These parameters are: participants, kinesis, aspect, punctuality, volitionality, affirmation, mode, agency, affectedness and individuation of the object. 'High transitivity' includes the presence of 2 or more participants, the agent and the object, with respect to the parameter participants; with respect to kinesis, aspect, and punctuality, it includes features such as 'action', 'telic', and 'punctual', respectively; on the other hand, 'low transitivity' is associated with the opposite features: 1 participant, non-action, atelic, non-punctual, and so on. The idea is then that the more features a clause has in the 'high transitivity' column, the more transitive it is.

However, the semantic and grammatical characteristics of individual clauses -among which transitivity is a nuclear one- can only gain a provisional an incomplete validity at sentence level, since a coherent account for the salience of those features is to be found in discourse, specifically in the contrast between foregrounded and backgrounded discourse. High transitivity features, according to these authors, are typically associated with FOREGROUND Information (the material which supplies the main points of discourse) whereas low transitivity features combine with BACKGROUND material (that part of discourse which does not crucially contribute to the speaker's goal, but which merely amplifies, or comments on it). In English, however, the correlation between foregrounding and high transitivity is interpreted on a probabilistic basis, that is, no absolute marking can be aprioristically assigned to it. Nonetheless, it seems very likely that a clause will be interpreted as foregrounded when it encodes more (rather than fewer) transitivity features.

Here this perspective will be used to discuss a passage taken from Melville's novella *Billy Budd*. There are some interesting literary effects achieved through transitivity and grounding concerning the central characters, and the scene is thus a seminal one in the novel.

2. General assumptions

If, as Freeman (1948: 73) suggests, structurally, the three characters *are* the novel, any analysis ought to begin with some consideration of the three principal actors. Violent action and external description in the story are subordinated to the inner conflicts of three men: the innocent, ignorant foretopman, handsome Billy Budd; the devious, urbane master-at-arms, John Claggart; the respectable, bookish commanding officer, Captain the Honorable Edward Fairfax ('Starry') Vere.

Billy is frequently presented as the main character of the piece. He is the "Handsome Sailor" and "Nautical Murat", "a superior figure of his own class accepting the spontaneous homage of his shipmates" (Hayford & Sealts 1962: 53). But he is not a conventional hero, and Melville knows it: he could be all that but he fails, he cannot qualify as a spokesman; he is extremely naive, suffering the tragic fault of a stammer. He is an ironic figure, as is Captain Vere. Claggart is the very image of intellectualized evil, but he uses reason as "an ambidexter implement for effecting the irrational" (Hayford & Sealts 1962: 77). Billy inspires him both "profound antipathy" and a "soft yearning". He is thus a personification of ambiguity and ambivalence, of the separation between being and doing: "apprehending the good, but powerless to be it, a nature like Claggart's,... what recourse is left to it bu to recoil upon itself" (Hayford & Sealts 1962: 78). Captain Vere is also presented as an ambivalent character: aware of the evil in Claggart, and considering Billy's killing of him the blow of an angel, he rules out all inquiry into the motives for Billy's act and insists that he be tried for striking and killing an officer.

Much of the existing critical disagreement over the story is due to Melville's ambivalence in the presentation of the characters. My claim is that this ambivalence is reflected in the way the text is linguistically organized, more precisely, in the way transitivity options (types of processes and participants) and grounding mirror Melville's conception of his characters. The particular scene analysed occurs at the beginning of Chapter XIX when Billy, falsely accused by Claggart of plotting mutiny aboard the

British man-of-war Bellipotent, his speech impeded by a stutter, strikes his accuser dead in front of the Captain. For this reason he will be condemned to hang after a summary trial:

(1) Now when the foretopman found himself in the cabin, closeted as it were, with the captain and Claggart, (2) he was surprised enough. (3) But it was a surprise unaccompanied by apprehension or distrust. (4) To an immature nature essentially honest and humane, forewarning intimations of subtler danger from one's kind come tardily if at all. (5) The only thing that took shape in the young sailor's mind was this: Yes, the captain, I have always thought, looks kindly upon me. Wonder if he is going to make me his coxswain. I should like that. And may be now he is going to ask the master-at-arms about me.

"Shut the door there, sentry," (6) said the commander; "stand without, and let nobody come in. -Now, Master-at-arms, tell this man to his face what you told of him to me," (7) and stood prepared to scrutinize the mutually confronting visages.

(8) With the measured step and calm collected air of an asylum physician approaching in the public hall some patient beginning to show indications of a coming paroxysm, (9) Claggart deliberately advanced within short range of Billy and, (10) mesmerically looking him in the eye, (11) briefly recapitulated the accusation. (12) Not at first did Billy take it in. (13) When he did, (14) the rose-tan of his cheek looked struck as by white leprosy. (15) He stood like one impaled and gagged. (16) Meanwhile the accuser's eyes, (17) removing not as yet from the blue dilated ones, underwent a phenomenal change, their wonted rich violet color blurring into a muddy purple. (18) Those lights of human intelligence, (19) losing human expression, were gelidly protruding like the alien eyes of certain uncatalogued creatures of the deep. (20) The first mesmeric glance was one of serpent fascination; (21) the last was as the paralyzing lurch of the torpedo fish.

(22) "Speak, man!" said Captain Vere to the transfixed one, struck by his aspect even more than by Claggart's. "Speak! Defend yourself!" (23) Which appeal caused but a strange dumb gesturing and gurgling in Billy; amazement at such an accusation so suddenly sprung on inexperienced nonage; (24) this, and, it may be, horror for the accuser's eyes serving to bring out his lurking defect (25) and in this instance for the time intensifying it into a convulsed tongue-tie; (26) while the intent head and entire form straining forward in an agony of ineffectual eagerness to obey the injunction to speak and defend himself, gave an expression to the face like that of a condemned vestal priestess in the moment of being buried alive, and in the first struggle against suffocation.

(27) Though at the time Captain Vere was quite ignorant of Billy's liability to vocal impediment, (28) he now immediately divined it, (29) since vividly Billy's aspect recalled to him that of a bright young schoolmate of his whom he had once seen struck by much the same startling impotence in the act of eagerly rising in the class to be foremost in response to a testing question put to it by the master. (30) Going close up to the young sailor, (31) and laying a soothing hand on his shoulder, (32) he said, "There is no hurry, my boy. Take your time, take your time."

(33) Contrary to the effect intended, these words so fatherly in tone, doubtless touching Billy's heart to the quick, prompted yet more violent efforts at utterance -

(34) efforts soon ending for the time in confirming the paralysis, (35) and bringing to his face an expression which was a crucifixion to behold. (36) The next instant, quick as the flame form a discharged cannon at night, his right arm shot out, (37) and Claggart dropped to the deck. (38) Whether intentionally or but owing to the young athlete's superior height, (39) the blow had taken effecto full upon the forehead, so shapely and intellectual-looking a feature in the master-at-arms; (40) so that the body fell over lengthwise, (41) like a heavy plank tilted from erectness. (42) A gasp or two, (43) and he lay motionless.

(44) "Fated boy," breathed Captain Vere in tone so low as to be almost a whisper, "what have you done! But here, help me."

(45) The twain raised the felled one from the loins up into a sitting position. (46) The spare form flexibly acquiesced, but inertly. (47) It was like handling a dead snake. (48) They lowered it back. (49) Regaining erectness, Captain Vere with one hand covering his face stood to all appearance as impassive as the object at his feet. (50) Was he absorbed in taking in all the bearings of the event (51) and what was best not only now at once to be done, but also in the sequel?

(52) Slowly he uncovered his face; (53) and the effect was as if the moon emerging from eclipse should reappear with quite another aspect than that which had gone into hiding. (54) The father in him, manifested towards Billy thus far in the scene, was replaced by the military disciplinarian. (55) In his official tone he bade the foretopman retire to a stateroom aft (ponting it out), and there remain till thence summoned. (56) This order Billy in silence mechanically obeyed. (57) Then going to the cabin door where it opened on the quarter-deck, (58) Captain Vere said to the sentry without, "Tell somebody to send Albert here." (59) When the lad appeared, (60) his master so contrived it that he should not catch sight of the prone one. (61) "Albert," he said to him, "tell the surgeon I wish to see him. You need not come back till called."

(The following passage is taken from the reading text based on Melville's genetic text and prepared by Harrison Hayford and Merton M. Sealts in 1962. All references to the text in the present paper are to this edition.)

3. Textual analysis

We may begin our analysis with a study of the times Billy is involved as a participant in the processes expressed by the verbs. Seven of them are all processes in which Billy is not the Agent or initiator of the events: Billy is the Recipient of a material process in (4), where he is not even presented as animate, definite or referential, but is only indirectly referred to as 'an immature nature': *To an immature nature..., forwarning intimations ... come tardily if at all.* (4).

The next clause is a metaphorical expression realized by a material process with an inanimate agent where Billy does not even play the role of participant: his mind is presented as a circumstantial element of the location type: *The only thing that took shape in the young sailor's mind was ...* (5). Three further references to Billy's subsequent reactions to Vere's appeal repeat the same kind of structure: *a strange gesturing and gurgling in Billy; amazement at such an accusation ... horror for the accuser's eyes.* (23-24). Relegated to an oblique status, as indicated by the use of the prepositional phrase *in Billy*, he is presented as a low individuated or affected participant in the clause. Moreover, the use of nominalized forms to realize processes tends to blurr both person and tense specifications, contributing to a timeless, static, and spatial description of the events. In addition to this, since nominalizations are extremely low in transitivity - they never make assertions, their verbs are always irrealis - (Hopper & Thompson 1980: 285), its specific use in these clauses emphasizes Billy's passive role in the scene. These nominal forms are by their nature backgrounded, since they serve as a noun phrase in the sentences of which they are part.

Billy's role of Patient participant is confirmed afterwards when Vere's fatherly words provoke again a negative reaction in Billy: *these words, doubtless touching Billy's heart to the quick, prompted yet more violent efforts at utterance -efforts soon ending for the time in confirming the paralysis, and bringing to his face an expression which was a crucifixion to behold.* (33-35).

There are ten clauses coding Billy as a participant in the role of an Agent. Six of them avoid explicit reference to Billy as causer or initiator of the action, and parts of his body take on the role of Agent: *the rose-tan of his cheek looked struck as by white leprosy* (14); *while the intent head and entire form straining forward... to obey....., gave an expression to the face like that of a condemned vestal priestess* (26); *his right arm shot out* (36). The use of these non-agentive subjects - with the lowest score in the Agency Hierarchy - reflects Billy's low degree of planned involvement in the activity expressed

by the verb. Billy does not perform actions nor does he deliberately initiate events. With regard to grounding, these clauses are obviously backgrounded: participants low in Agency cannot effect a transfer of an action in the same way as those high in Agency. Passive constructions, e.g.: *the rose-tan of his cheek looked struck as by white leprosy* (14), and imperfective forms, e.g.: *while the intent head and entire form straining forward...* (26) are non-transitive, and therefore backgrounded.

One further reference to Billy's unintentional blow serves to strengthen the overall impression of detachment, of someone who is not responsible for his actions: *the blow had taken effecto full upon the forehead* (39). This time, the combination of a non-volitional verb and a non-agentive subject point to an absence of voluntary participation by Billy.

There are only five clauses describing Billy as an Agent. Three of them are intransitive, i.e., they are used without a goal, and are passive or reactive in the sense that the processes are not initiated by Billy, who is the affected participant, not the causer: *when the foretopman found himself in the cabin* (1); *he was surprised enough* (2); *he stood like one impaled and gagged* (15). All three are clauses which realize one argument, a feature associated with low transitivity, and backgrounded. Besides, the first clause (1) has a verb in the reflexive form which makes the clause less transitive than a possible counterpart with two distinct arguments (Hopper & Thompson 1980: 277).

Only two more clauses encode Billy as an Agent: *Not at first did Billy take it in* (12); *This order Billy in silence mechanically obeyed* (56). In the first clause Billy is the Senser of the mental process expressed by the verb. Mental processes are lower in transitivity than material ones since they lack the kinetic property typical of high transitive clauses (Hopper & Thompson 1980: 252). Moreover, the participant functioning as Phenomenon is not a 'thing' but a 'fact' (Claggart's accusation) and, therefore, low individuated and non-referential. Objects of this type tend to reduce the

transitivity of the clause, and make it backgrounded. The second clause appears at the end of the passage. Claggart is now dead and Vere orders Billy to retire aft and remain there till summoned. This is the only occasion in the whole passage where Billy is the Actor and initiator of a material-action-intention process. However, his action is a reaction to Vere's order rather than the result of a free and voluntary decision. Billy obeys mechanically, as if he were a robot, someone unable to carry out any action on his own. Similarly we can find two past participles with an obvious passive meaning; they summarize Billy's role in the passage as an unconscious Agent, who, driven by an unknown force which he is unable to bring under control, fatally provokes Claggart's death.

Both references are made by Captain Vere: the first is the result of the reaction which Claggart's accusation provokes in Billy: *the transfixed one* (22); the second occurs immediately after the blow has been delivered: *fated boy* (44). This last description underlines Billy's fatal destiny, and his lack of responsibility in the course of events leadingto Claggart's tragic end.

As for Claggart's role in the passage, he is the Agent in five clauses, but only in one of them he is the Actor of a material-action-intention process: *Claggart deliberately advanced within short range of Billy* (9); *mesmerically looking him in the eye* (10); *briefly recapitulated the accusation* (11); *Claggart dropped to the deck* (37); *he lay motionless* (43).

The process in (10) is of the behavioural type. Processes of this kind are intermediate between material and mental processes, but 'look' is, in this case, closer to the mental end, since it is a process of consciousness represented as a form of behaviour. The clause is thus low in transitivity, and it is also backgrounded: the material presented in -ing clauses in English is not part of the narration, but simply adds supplementary detail, or is a comment on it. Verbal processes like the one in (11) are also low in transitivity since they are in a sense 'symbolic' processes lacking a definite and referential object.

The process in the case of (37) is realized by a 'supervention' verb, that is, a verb describing a change which can be observed or which affects the actor but over which he has no control. Although the verb is active, it expresses a happening rather than a doing: the probe would be "what happened to Claggart?" and not "what did Claggart do?". Finally, the verb in (43) describes a relational process of the attributive type, where Claggart is the affected participant of an action initiated by Billy's blow. Attributive clauses have only one participant, the Carrier, and represent states, not actions. These two features are a signal of their reduced transitivity and reflect their backgrounded nature.

If we follow the succession of events leading to Claggart's death, we will notice that soon after the first three moments (9, 10, 11), where he is the intentional initiator of the clause, Claggart, unexpectedly, undergoes a transformation which makes him unaware of his actions. This is reflected in the use of a series of 'supervention' verbs whose actors are parts of his body: *the accuser's eyes... underwent a phenomenal change* (17 ; *Those lights of human intelligence, losing human expression, were gelidly protruding* (18).

Two further references also avoid explicit reference to Claggart as Agent. We are not told: 'Claggart glanced at Billy mesmerically', but: *the first mesmeric glance was one of serpent fascination; the last was as the paralyzing lurch of the torpedo fish.* (20, 21). This time, as in the description of Billy's reaction to Vere's appeal, Melville presents the process in a nominalized form within a relational-attributive clause. These clauses provide a static description of the events in the sense that they do not show us Claggart acting, and serve to emphasize the general impression of detachment. It is as if Claggart's eyes, now transformed into those of an alien creature, had a force of their own, detached from their owner.

When Billy's right arm has already delivered the fatal blow Claggart appears again in the scene, but this time as a non-agentive subject: *the body fell over lengthwise* (40); *the*

spare form flexibly acquiesced (46). In both occasions, Melville introduces an inanimate subject to emphasize the low agency of the participant. Moreover, a third reference presents Claggart as the goal of a process whose actors are Vere and Billy: the twain raised the felled one (45). In all of these examples the use of non-volitional verbs shows an absence of voluntary participation and confirms Claggart's passivity in the events.

What about Captain Vere? There are twenty references to Vere as a participant in the processes, and in all of them he plays the role of Agent. The types of processes involved are the following: six verbs describe verbal processes: *said* (6); *said* (22); *he said* (32); *he bade* (55); *said* (58); *he said* (61). Five verbs describe material-action-intention processes: *going up close to him* (30); *laying a soothing hand* (31); *covering his face* (49); *slowly he uncovered his face* (52); *going to the cabin door* (57). Four verbs describe mental processes, three of them cognitive: *divined* (28); *taking in all the bearings* (50); *contrived* (60); one reactive: *recalled* (29).

Four verbs describe relational processes: *was quite ignorant* (27); *stood as impassive* (49); *was he absorbed* (50) ; was replaced (54); and one is a behavioural process: *breathed* (44).

4. Conclusion

This analysis shows that, although at first sight Vere seems to be quite in the background, as a kind of a 'passive' observer, he is, nevertheless, the leader and controller of events. This is obvious if we look at the content of the story: it is Vere who arranges the meeting between Claggart and Billy, who orders Claggart to repeat his accusation and Billy to speak and defend himself, and whose words, contrary to the effect intended, provoke Billy's unintentional blow. This is reflected not only in the fact that Vere dominates the action of the passage (twenty references where he appears as Agent) but also in the type of processes involved: most of his actions are material-action-

intention processes or verbal processes; interestingly, these actions are external manifestations of a series of mental processes which characterize Vere's personality. While Billy and Claggart are said to owe their characters to 'nature', Captain Vere is shaped mainly by his fondness for books. Billy's intelligence is as primitive as his virtues are pristine. He is illiterate, he cannot understand ambiguity, and he stutters. Claggart, in contrast, is presented as the very image of urbane, intellectualized, articulate evil. He is a man, writes Melville, "in whom was the mania of an evil nature, not engendered by vicious training or corrupting books or licentious living, but born with him and humane, in short, a depravity according to nature" (Hayford & Sealts 1962: 76). The mere sight of Billy Budd's rosy beauty and rollicking innocence does not fail to provoke in such a character "an antipathy spontaneous and profound". Vere, the third man in the drama, is an honest, serious reader, seemingly well suited for the role of a judge and a witness that he will come to play in the course of the story. Nevertheless, Vere sees his actions and existence as meaningful only within the context of a contractual allegiance: his allegiance to the King. This is reflected in Vere's judgement of the events leading to Claggart's death. Although the recognizes that Billy has been driven by a fatal destiny, and that his deed has been accidental or unconsciously motivated, however, he forces through the death sentence against Billy by accusing him directly: *"Fated boy", breathed Captain Vere in tone so low as to be almost a whisper, "what have you done!"* (44). Even though he feels sorry for Billy and considers him a good boy, unable to kill anyone intentionally, Vere subordinates character to action, being to doing. For him, Budd's intent or non-intent is nothing to the purpose; what matters is not the cause but the consequences of the blow. Thus, for Vere, judgement is a function neither of the individual conscience nor of absolute justice, but of 'the rigor of martial law' operating through him (Hayford & Sealts 1962: 112).

Interestingly enough, the fate of each of the characters is the direct reverse of what one is led to expect from their 'nature'. Billy is sweet, innocent, and harmless, yet he kills.

1:12

Claggart is evil, perverted, and mendacious, yet he dies as a victim. Vere is sagacious and responsible, yet he allows a man whom he considers not guilty to hang. It is this discrepancy between character and action, between a man's nature and his acts, that has provoked so much critical disagreement over the story, and which I have tried to illustrate with the analysis of the preceding passage. By selecting certain processes and participants from the transitivity system, Melville has constructed a semantically motivated pattern which reveals the roles of the characters and the reasons for their actions in a crucial scene of the novel.

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VARIATION IN NARRATIVE STRUCTURE:

A SIMPLE TEXT VS. AN INNOVATIVE WORK OF ART

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1. Introduction

The focus of the present paper is on variation within the narrative type of text. We shall, in particular, discuss variation between two rather extreme forms of narrative: simple stories written for children that may be described as rather stereotypical in structure, and an artistic story, *The Steppe* by A. Čexov. We take the view that stories are comparable with each other even when they originate in different cultural settings. Narrative might well be characterized as a 'primary' or 'basic' type of text, with more reliance on iconicity and hence, less variation from one culture to another than, for instance, exposition or argumentation.

The variation in narrative structure under investigation here might be

viewed in terms of a scale of 'prototypicality'. At one end of the scale, one may find texts that conform to a standard narrative design, and at the other, texts with innovative strategies. The standard narrative design, a story, is widely discussed in the literature.[1] A story usually consists of a spatio-temporal setting in which the participants appear, and a temporal-causal sequence of actions and events that the participants are involved in. The final situation of a story typically differs from the one at the beginning of the text: the development that takes place in a narrative normally has an outcome of some kind. The main thread of the narrative is formed by the chain of actions and events, which is generally presented as the foregrounded part of the text (for grounding, see e.g., Chvany 1985, 1986; Hopper and Thompson 1980; Wårvik 1987). In a prototypical narrative textual units are discrete, and junctures between them tend to be explicitly signalled. Furthermore, the hierarchy of textual units often seems to be coded in such a way that fewer linguistic markers appear at lower-level boundaries and clusters of markers at the more macro-level boundaries (Givón 1984: 245). Finally, the peak of a story typically differs in structure from the rest of the text (see e.g., Longacre 1983). A narrative that contains innovative strategies and thus deviates from the expected narrative design may, all the same, be hypothesized to rely on our intuitions about a prototypical narrative structure: text-receivers probably

interpret 'unusual' texts against the background of a prototype.

The purpose of our investigation of different stories is to understand the different text strategies that may be assumed to lie behind the final products and that are reflected in the text (cf. Enkvist 1987a, 1987b). The temporal, locative, and agentive text strategies all bring cohesion and coherence into a text. Text strategies can combine and co-occur. Text-strategic continuity is typically formed through chains of temporal or spatial expressions, which are often adverbials (e.g., *one evening -> the next morning -> that night -> first -> then -> one day -> just then*; or *at the gate -> beyond the bridge -> on the way up the hillside -> on top of the hill*), or references to a particular character or group of characters (e.g., *Goldilocks - she - she - she - Goldilocks - she*; or *a man and a woman - they - they - the man and the woman - he - she - they*).[2]

The chains of text-strategically important elements thus bind the text together. At the same time they also serve text segmentation. Hence, a new stage in the story, a new location, or a reference to a particular participant may be signalled in such a way that it marks a new move or a new section in the text, a textual shift. As pointed out above, such textual boundaries occur on different hierarchic levels.[3] Let us now examine these two sides of the same coin, the signalling of continuity and segmentation, in stories that differ

in the degree of conformity to the standard use of these devices.

We shall limit the discussion of text-strategic continuity and text segmentation to markers of temporal text strategy and devices of participant reference. Such a focus will bring us, first of all, to the occurrence and placement of temporal adverbials and other expressions of time. Secondly, we shall examine the alternation between full NP's, pronouns, and zero anaphora in participant reference.

2. Prototypical narrative strategies

Initial placement of temporal adverbials at crucial points of the text often functions as a necessary clue to the text-producer's text strategy. When these elements appear initially in the clause, sentence, or paragraph, they usually indicate a major or minor textual shift, as in (1).

(1) ***Once upon a time*** *three bears lived in a house in the woods. (...)*
One morning while the bears were out walking*, a little girl called Goldilocks came to their house.* ***First*** *she looked through the window.* ***Then*** *she peeped through the keyhole. 'Is anyone home?, she called. There was no reply. Goldilocks opened the door and went in.*
(...)
Just then *the bears came home, very hungry after their walk.*
(...) (BEARS)

Such adverbials are placed non-initially in the clause or sentence when no textual shift takes place, or when there is no need to indicate a textual boundary since another marker already performs this function. Similarly, other types of adverbials typically appear non-initially in the clause in texts that are steered by a temporal text strategy.

Signals of temporal text strategy differ in one important respect from signals of other strategies: the iconic temporal succession characteristic of the narrative - the 'then' relation between the different actions and events of a story - may be left implicit on the textual surface. Explicit temporal markers are, strictly speaking, only needed when they signal a deviation from an iconic temporal sequentiality (cf. e.g., *previously*; *meanwhile*) or temporal adjacency (e.g., *two weeks later*), or when they have important textual functions such as the marking of a textual shift (cf. e.g., the function of an explicit *then* in a temporally iconic text). If adverbial markers are used in a systematic way to signal a global temporal strategy in the text, they tend to disappear in the peak section, which then contains other markers. They often reappear in the post-peak section. The pre-peak episodes may be extremely explicitly marked. (For further discussion of the textual functions of adverbial placement, see Virtanen 1987, 1988.)

Another interesting aspect in the narrative is the manner in which partici-

pants are introduced in the story and referred to thereafter. Givón (1983) outlines a scale of phonological size - from zero anaphora to the full NP - in which lesser coding material is associated with the more continuous/accessible topics, and more coding material with the more discontinuous/inaccessible topics. Factors contributing to the choice of a full NP seem to include distance, other participants interfering in the actions that form the story-line, and risk for ambiguity. What most studies of referential choice also show is a tendency of a full NP to occur at a major textual juncture. (For discussion of participant continuity, see e.g., Clancy 1980; Givón 1983; Fox 1987.)

In (2) the use of the full NP *the cats* at the beginning of the fourth paragraph seems to be connected with the marking of a new textual unit, which is a backgrounded descriptive section that follows a foregrounded narrative passage.

(2) *(...)*

'Oh dear!' cried the man and the woman. 'There are so many cats in our garden, there isn't enough room for us!'

They shouted, 'Go away! Shoo! Go home!'

But the cats only sat and stared at the man and the woman. They could not go home, because they had no home. The little garden was the only place they had to call their own.

All day the cats played in the pretty garden. They chased the beetles and the butterflies, and climbed a tree, and played a game of tag along the top of the fence.

(...) (CATS)

Here a pronoun would be unambiguous enough (cf. also *they* at the beginning of the second paragraph of the same extract). The lack of distance and the fact that the other set of participants have not been active in between would further justify the use of a pronoun at this point. Pronominal reference is, however, here blocked by the function that participant continuity plays in marking textual shifts. In line with the tendency of clusters of markers to appear at the major boundaries in a text, the boundary is, first of all, signalled with the help of an initially-placed temporal adverbial *all day*. The other instances of full NP's referring to participants in (2) may be accounted for in terms of avoidance of ambiguity with the other set of characters interfering in the story-line. Consider, from this perspective, also the end of the second paragraph in (1), where a full-NP reference to Goldilocks is used instead of a pronoun, to indicate a juncture between two lower-level textual units (no other markers are needed at this point as the shift is not a major one).

In sum, then, initial placement of temporal adverbials and the different resources for participant reference may be used as an efficient device for text structuring. A systematic and expected marking of text-strategic continuity thus contributes to the ease of text processing. At the same time, however, a story that conforms to a prototypical narrative design, of course, contains less information than a text full of surprises, which, in terms of information

theory, carries a lot of information. Let us now turn to a less prototypical narrative and investigate some of its innovative text strategies against the background of the discussion above.

3. Innovative narrative strategies

We have chosen *The Steppe* by A. Čexov, a major innovator in Russian and European prose. First a few words about the context of situation in which it was created.

The Steppe was Čexov's first serious long work and the first to be written for a prestigious journal. It was first published in the March issue, 1888, of the monthly journal *Severnyj Vestnik* (the Northern Herald). Čexov was then 28 years old. He was aware of the originality of the text, and predicted that he would be met with criticism (Čexov 1975: 186). Most critics in the journals of the time, in fact, agreed that Čexov had not succeeded in his first attempt at a long work (cf. Čexov 1977: 637).

Compared to the 'eventful' prose fiction that had been written prior to Čexov, his stories seem eventless. Čexov himself says about *The Steppe* that its plot is insignificant (Čexov 1975: 185). It is simply the story of a journey

by a nine-year-old boy Egoruška from his native town of N. to another bigger town, where he is to go to school.

The 'eventlessnesš' of Čexov's stories is one of the innovative devices that has been widely discussed in the literature. As Pomorska (1976) shows, Čexov structures the axis of combination so that the combinatory units are camouflaged. Perceivable, discrete units are replaced by 'non-events', or else, by units unmarked in the perception of the readers. The temporal sequence is separated from causality (cf. also Shukman 1977) and Čexov's stories often result not in a change but in a balance. What is achieved is the impression of a continuous stream. The average reader is left with a feeling that nothing really happens. This also relates to grounding. Čexov has been shown to play with our perceptions of the distinction between foregrounded and backgrounded material in his stories (Björklund 1984; Chvany 1985, 1986).

The way of representing the story-line as a flow of events in an uninterrupted stream with no sharp grounding distinctions is also characteristic of *The Steppe*. In accordance with the strategy of presenting what goes on in the text as a continuum, Čexov also manages to camouflage the temporal strategy in *The Steppe*. Mostly he does not mark temporal shifts with initial placement of temporal adverbials, of which we saw an example in a simple story in (1) above. Rather, he embeds the indications of temporal shifts in the central

participant Egoruška's perception of the world around him.

Let us take a look at some illuminating passages from *The Steppe*. The time span of *The Steppe* stretches from the morning of the first day to the morning of the sixth day, thus encompassing approximately 5 x 24 hours. Each of the six mornings is explicitly referred to in the text. As the indication of the mornings is representative of the way other times of day (mostly evenings and nights) are indicated, only the mornings will be discussed here. The six mornings are presented in the text as in Table 1.[4]

Day and chapter	**Textualization**
1st day chapter I	*Iz N., uezdnogo goroda Z-oj gubernii, **rannim ijul'skim utrom** vyexala i s gromom pokatila po počtovomu traktu bezressornaja, ošarpannaja brička,* (p. 13) *From N., district town of the province of Z., **on an early July morning** there drove out and rolled noisily off along the post road a shabby springless carriage,*
2nd day chapter IV	*Kogda on prosnulsja, **uže vosxodilo solnce;*** (p. 48) *When he woke up, **the sun was already rising;***
3rd day chapter VI	*Kogda na drugoj den' prosnulsja Egoruška, **bylo***

	rannee utro; solnce ešče ne vsxodilo. (p. 79) *When next day Egoruška woke up, it was early morning; the sun was not yet rising.*
4th day chapter VII	*On vstal, odelsja i vyšel iz izby. Uže nastupilo utro.* (p. 90) *He stood up, dressed and went out of the hut. Morning had already come.*
5th day chapter VIII	*Egoruška vspomnil, čto ešče mnogo vremeni ostalos' do utra, v toske pripal lbom k spinke divana i už ne staralsja otdelat'sja ot tumannyx ugnetajuščix grez. No utro nastupilo gorazdo ran'še, čem on dumal.* *Emu kazalos', čto on nedolgo ležal, pripavši lbom k spinke divana, no kogda on otkryl glaza, iz oboix okon nomerka uže tjanulis' k polu kosye solnečnye luči.* (pp. 96-97) *Egoruška remembered that there was much time left before morning, laid in anguish his forehead against the back of the sofa and no longer tried to get rid of the misty oppressive dreams. But morning came much earlier than he thought.* *It seemed to him that he had not been lying long with his forehead against the back of the sofa, but when he opened his eyes, from both windows of the little hotel room slanting sunbeams were stretching down to the floor.*
6th day chapter VIII	*Na drugoj den' utrom prixodili proščat'sja Ivan Ivanyč i o. Xristofor.* (p. 103)

	Next day in the morning Ivan Ivanyč and Father Xristofor came to say goodbye.

Table 1. *Explicit reference to the mornings in "The Steppe".*

As shown in Table 1, it is mostly through the perception of the central participant that we are informed about the temporal shifts that are caused by the break of a new day. Since most indications of time are made in a similar way - through representations of what Egoruška sees or hears - and since they occur at a considerable distance from each other, we as readers soon lose track of the temporal organization of the text. As in real life there is a constant flux of days and nights. After only one reading most readers cannot tell how many days are encompassed by the time span.[5]

However, the first morning, which forms the temporal setting of the initial action of the story, is referred to by a temporal adverbial not far from the absolute beginning of the first sentence of chapter I. Also, the last temporal shift of the text is marked by a temporal adverbial at the beginning of the first sentence of a paragraph. This shift occurs about one page from the end of the text. Thus, the first and the last indications of time are close to the absolute boundaries of the text and are, as we have seen, marked with temporal adverbials. The adverbials *on a morning* and *in the morning* (in Russian *utrom*

in both cases), so to speak, form a frame round the temporal shifts that occur within the text. The text-medial shifts, however, never coincide with a chapter boundary. Consider Figure 1.

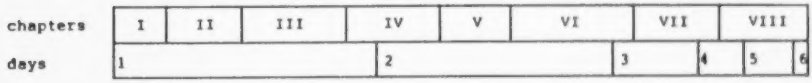

Figure 1. *Temporal organization of "The Steppe".*

Another subtle means of creating a tight connection is the use of pronominal reference at major junctures in the text. As pointed out above, in such instances, full NP's tend to be used with reference to the participants. If, however, a pronoun is used, the new narrative unit is more tightly bound to the previous one. The text segmentation becomes less clear-cut and an impression of a uniform continuum is created. This may be illustrated by the following two passages from *The Steppe*. In reference to Egoruška we find a pronoun in combination with a camouflaged temporal strategy.

The first passage is from the list of mornings in Table 1. It is repeated in (3) with more context, to show the effect more clearly.

(3) *Egoruška pokrepče vzjalsja rukoj za verevku, kotoroju byl perevjazan tjuk, ešče zasmejalsja ot udovol'stvija, popravil v karmane prjanik i*

stal zasypat' tak, kak on obyknovenno zasypal u sebja doma v posteli...

Kogda on prosnulsja, uže vosxodilo solnce; (...) Da i vsja mestnost' ne poxodila na včerašnjuju. (p. 48)

Egoruška took a tighter hold with his hand of the cord with which the bale was tied up, laughed once more with pleasure, rearranged the cake in his pocket and began to fall asleep as he used to fall asleep in his home in bed...

When he woke up, the sun was already rising; (...) And the whole landscape did not resemble yesterday's.

As we can see, the pronoun *he* occurs at a juncture that is both temporal and spatial. Almost a whole night has elapsed from the previous sentence, and while asleep, Egoruška has travelled so far that the landscape now looks quite different. In this passage, however, there are no intervening clauses and no other participants are mentioned between the pronoun and the previous mention of Egoruška. Moreover, there is a certain continuity in the action described, since *waking up* is naturally the ultimate outcome of *falling asleep*. Thus, the whole composition of this passage seems to aim at blurring a major textual boundary.

In example (4), pronominal reference *he* is used at a major textual juncture, although the previous mention of Egoruška occurs several clauses earlier. Three other male participants are mentioned in the intervening clauses.

(4) *Oboz tronulsja s mesta rano, potomu-čto bylo ne žarko. Egoruška ležal na tjuke i drožal ot xoloda, xotja solnce skoro pokazalos' na*

nebe i vysušilo ego odeždu, tjuk i zemlju. Edva on zakryl glaza, kak opjat' uvidel Tita i mel'nicu. Čuvstvuja tošnotu i tjažest' vo vsem tele, on naprjagal sily, čtoby otognat' ot sebja èti obrazy, no edva oni isčezali, kak na **Egorušku** *s revom brosalsja ozornik Dymov s krasnymi glazami i s podnjatymi kulakami ili že slyšalos', kak on toskoval: "Skučno mne!" Proezžal na kazač'em žerebčike Varlamov, proxodil so svoej ulybkoj i s droxvoj sčastlivyj Konstantin. I kak vse èti ljudi byli tjažely, nesnosny i nadoedlivy!*

Raz - èto bylo uže pered večerom - **on** *podnjal golovu, čto-by poprosit' pit'. Oboz stojal na bol'šom mostu, tjanuvšemsja čerez širokuju reku.* (chapter VII, pp. 91-92)

The convoy set off early, because it was not hot. Egoruška lay on the bale and shivered with cold, though the sun soon appeared in the sky and dried his clothes, the bale, and the earth. He had barely closed his eyes when he again caught sight of Tit and the windmill. Feeling a sickness and heaviness in his whole body, he used all his powers to drive away these images, but they had barely vanished when Dymov the mischief-maker with a roar was rushing at **Egoruška** *with red eyes and raised fists, or else he could be heard fretting: "I'm bored!" Varlamov was riding past on the little Cossack stallion; happy Konstantin was walking by with his smile and the bustard. And how oppressive all these people were, how unbearable and disturbing!*

Once - it was now just before evening - **he** *raised his head to ask for something to drink. The convoy was standing on a large bridge stretching across a broad river.*

As we can see, a whole day has passed between the two paragraphs in (4). In the morning (cf. *early*), the convoy leaves a village. Towards the evening it is standing on the bridge leading to the town that is the goal of the journey. However, this boundary is camouflaged through the indication of the time just in passing, like a parenthesis. This new stage of the journey is very tightly connected to the previous paragraph through pronominal reference to

Egoruška, even at some risk of ambiguity. The textual boundary is blurred and this creates an impression of an unstructured continuum.

4. Discussion

One of Čexov's important text strategies in *The Steppe*, as in many of his other texts, is to blur or camouflage textual boundaries. This strategy acts together with the separation of the temporal sequence from causality, and with the unusual grounding strategies, to create the impression of a continuous stream. In this text, these strategies are also ultimately connected with the strategy of using internal points of view (cf. Uspensky 1973: 130ff.), or in Odincov's terminology, subjectivization of author's narration (Odincov 1980b: 185ff.; cf. also Hasan 1985: 68ff.).

When we read a narrative text, our expectations tend to coincide with the standard design. We therefore also interpret narratives against the background of this knowledge. If we then come across a text which deviates from the standard, interpretation is more difficult because we are forced to look at things in a new way. According to Molčanova (1988: 38), deviations from the norm demand extra interpretive effort and they are thus a source of implicit

information. As we have seen, the deviant text strategies adopted by Čexov in *The Steppe* create the impression of a continuum. Thus, events and actions flow in an uninterrupted stream just as in life. This comparison is actually what many literary interpretations of the text are based on. For instance, one of Čexov's contemporaries, the writer V.G. Korolenko, compared public life of the 1880's with 'this steppe' (cf. Korolenko 1986). Bitsilli (1983), again, sees 'this road' as life's path: "Chance and not 'selective affinity', brings men together and separates them" (Bitsilli 1983: 89). (Cf. also Björklund 1988.)

That we match texts against the background of our knowledge of prototypical text designs also seems to be corroborated by the reactions of many average readers and critics contemporary with Čexov. In his letters Čexov himself refers to his text as a *povest'*, which is one of the narrative prose genres in Russian literature (= an extended short story or a short novel). In fact, the subtitle of *The Steppe* is *The Story of a Journey*. Readers, however, tended to see only descriptions, presumably because of the camouflaged segmentation that produces the impression that nothing really happens. In their opinion, the text was dull and demanded a tremendous effort from the reader. It was seen as a collection of essays (*očerki*), or as an ethnographic work, rather than as a fictional, artistic text (cf. Čexov 1977: 636-643). But as Odincov (1980a) notes, the opinion that *The Steppe* is a *povest'*, and not an

očerk, has triumphed.

The initial uncertainty about the genre of *The Steppe* links up with Gal'perin's observation that what deviates from the norm (or prototypical design) of one text type may, in fact, be typical of the norm of another type of text (Gal'perin 1974: 26). Thus, on a higher level of abstraction, the scale of 'prototypicality' outlined at the beginning of the present paper might be represented as in Figure 2.

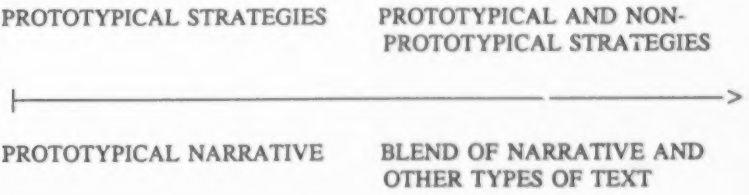
PROTOTYPICAL STRATEGIES
PROTOTYPICAL AND NON-PROTOTYPICAL STRATEGIES
PROTOTYPICAL NARRATIVE
BLEND OF NARRATIVE AND OTHER TYPES OF TEXT

Figure 2. *Scale of 'prototypicality' of narrative strategies.*

The present investigation indicates that even the concrete linguistic signals of the temporal and participant-oriented strategies manifest the degree of prototypicality of a narrative text. Further empirical studies are needed to account for the kinds of 'deviating' strategies that may be included in the narrative type of text and their effect on text processing. Yet, we have, even at this stage, an explanation of the first readers' reactions to *The Steppe*. Too many of the strategies that lie behind the text are not typically narrative, but

rather, they remind the reader of other types of text, such as exposition or description. Innovation within one text type may thus reside in the use of strategies typical of another type of text.

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Footnotes

1. For narrative patterns, see e.g., Aristotle, *Poetics*; Propp (1928), and studies in narratology; Labov and Waletzky (1967); story-grammars, e.g., Rumelhart (1975), cf. also de Beaugrande (1982) for a critical survey; Hasan (1984), Butt and O'Toole (1985).

2. For discussion, see e.g., Enkvist (1987a, 1987b); Gal'perin (1981); Givón (1983, 1984); Grimes (1975); Longacre (1983); Virtanen (1988).

3. Space forbids a discussion of typographic text segmentation, e.g., paragraph and chapter boundaries, which need not coincide with the thematic text segmentation considered here.

4. The translation into English is M.B.'s, and it follows the Russian original as closely as possible. Page references are to Čexov (1977).

5. Even in a literary analysis of the temporal structure of *The Steppe*, it is possible to lose a day, cf. Finke (1985) who talks about a three-day journey (p. 110), although the town that is the goal of the journey is reached in the evening of the fourth day.

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PHONOLOGICAL MEANINGS IN LITERARY PROSE TEXTS AND THEIR TRANSLATIONS[1]

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1. Introduction

The purpose of this article is to discuss the role of phonological meanings expressed in literary texts and how phonological meanings have generally been treated by linguists, translation theorists, and translators. The special focus will be on prose texts, although reference to poetic texts and other kinds of texts will also be made.

The interest for the topic developed from research into Australian fiction and its translations into Finnish (Ventola 1990; forthcoming). Altogether 115 Australian novels have been translated. These include some **valued**[2] Australian classics, e.g. by Patrick White, Xavier Herbert, etc., but most of the translations belong to **non-valued** rhetorical genres, e.g. romances, adventure stories, detective stories, and so on. As in any valued prose written in English, the authors of the valued Australian prose are also skilled in using phonological means to create rhetorical effects, whereas in non-valued works phonological meaning effects are less often attempted, and when attempted, then usually without great success. In translations, the phonological meanings of the original works seem to receive less attention in valued texts and appear largely to be ignored in non-valued texts. This observation leads us to consider the relationship between phonological meanings and various kinds of texts and their translations in greater detail.

This article will start with a brief discussion of the phonological level and the meanings created. The discussion will at first centre on conceptions which various

linguists have held of phonological meanings, starting with Firth and his views. The focus will then shift onto literary texts and onto how linguists - systemicists and others - have studied the realizations of phonological meanings specifically in prose texts. The article illustrates the phonological meaning relations in prose text extracts and their translations and finally, more briefly, discusses the implications for the training of translators.

2. Phonological level and meaning-making

It is well-known that for Firthian linguists a statement of the meaning of a text "cannot be achieved at one fell swoop by analysis at one level" (Firth 1951/57: 192). Firth suggested that the meaning complex should be split up and that at each level the analyses should try to capture specific types of **meaning-making mechanisms**. "The accumulation of results at various levels adds up to a considerable sum of partial meanings in terms of linguistics" (Firth 1957/68: 197). Meaning for Firth was dispersed "into modes, rather like the dispersion of light of mixed wave-lengths into a spectrum" (Firth 1951/57: 192). Thus, when we

> make statements of meanings in terms of linguistics, we may accept the language event as a whole and then deal with it at various levels, sometimes in a descending order, beginning with social context and proceeding through syntax and vocabulary or phonology and even phonetics, and at other times in the opposite order (Firth 1951/57: 192).

Phonological patterns are one of the ways 'to mean' when creating texts. To illustrate the existence of phonological meanings in texts, Firth presents an analysis of Lewis Carroll's famous nonsense poem called 'Jabberwocky' (Firth 1951/57: 193):

> *'Twas brillig, and the slithy toves*
> *Did gyre and gimble in the wabe;*
> *All mimsy were the borogroves,*
> *And the mome raths outgabe.*

Firth discusses the poem and its phonological meanings in terms of its stanzas, specific rhymes and its phonematic and prosodic processes and concludes that certainly the poem is 'English enough' in its realizations (see Firth 1951/57: 193).

The level of phonology is thus for Firth one of the meaning-making levels, no more nor less important than the other meaning-making levels, and it is not just characteristic of poetry. Phonological meaning, or the prosodic mode of texts, as Firth also calls it, interacts with other kinds of meaning, and all levels simultaneously contribute to the meaning-making in all text production.

For a thorough analysis of phonological meanings in texts, Firth (1951/57: 194) suggests the following categories: 1) **alliteration** (initial consonants: *feel/fate*), 2) **assonance** (vowel patterns: *bead/eel*), 3) **'chiming of consonants'** (*foul and fair*), 4) **stress**, 5) **emphasis**, and 6) **intonation**. According to Firth (1951/57: 194; emphasis mine), "Such features can be so distributed by a writer as to form part of **artistic prosodies** in both **prose** and **verse**". Firth emphasizes that such phenomena in texts are not just 'sound symbolism' or 'onomatopoeia', but, rather, they are part of the various means to express phonological meanings in texts, and thus they contribute to the total contextual meaning of the texts. They create the **prosodic mode** of the text or the **phonaesthetic**[3] character of the text.

What tools and ways are presented and used for analyzing phonological meanings in texts varies slightly from linguist to linguist and from tradition to tradition. When discussing phonology and poetic meaning, Leech (1968: 89-130), for example, lists **alliteration** (*send/sit*), **assonance** (s*e*nd/b*e*ll), **consonance** (*send/hand*), **reverse rhyme** (*send/sell*), **pararhyme** (*send/sound*), **rhyme** (*send/end*), **chiming**[4] (*mice and men*), and **onomatopoeia**[5] (*buzz*) as repetative and parallel sound patterns which together with such prosodic matters as **rhythm**, **stress**, and **metre**, create phonological meaning in poetry. Leech (1966: 186-189) considers similar phonological tools operating as **phonological schemas** also in other kinds of texts, i.e. in advertising: **alliteration** (*Give me Gordon's - everytime*), **rhyme** (*Shave and save with Erasmic*), and **vowel harmony** (*Mum Rollette protects you best*). Furthermore, phonological patterns and their meaning making should be considered also in fiction. Leech & Short (1981: 78) suggest the following checklist for students for analysing phonological (and graphological) patternings in fiction:

A) Are there any
1) phonological patterns of rhyme, alliteration, assonance, etc.?
2) salient rhythmical patterns?
3) vowel patterns or clusters?
4) consonants patterns or clusters?
5) graphological patterns of spelling, capitalization, hyphenation italization, paragraphing, etc.?

B) How do the discovered phonological patterns interact with meaning?

A very detailed treatment of the use of sounds in literature has been provided by Chapman (1984). He not only discusses the differences between the modes of realization, i.e. spoken interaction vs. the written representation of interaction on a page, but also the uses of spelling deviations, punctuation, and typography for representing sounds, onomatopoeia, the representation of characters' dialectal variation, the representation of prosodic features, voice quality, various non-verbal vocalizations, the uses of non-human and inanimate sounds, and music in literature. Some of Chapman's tools seem to go very far beyond Firth's suggestions of phonoaesthetic tools.

Within systemic linguistics, Cummings & Simmons (1983) propose the following categories for the analysis of phonological meaning: 1) **onomatopoeia**, 2) **alliteration**, 3) **assonance**, 4) **repetition of sounds**, 5) **rhyme**, 6) **consonance**, 7) **stress**, 8) **rhythm**, 9) **juncture**, 10) **pause**, and 11) **tune**. Bregazzi (1990) and Kies (1990), who similarly work within the Firthian tradition and systemic framework, also discuss the iconic meaning of sounds. Bregazzi pays specific attention to the specific phonological meaning expectations that readers have, their experience of 'inner ear' when reading, and their ability to understand and interpret kinetic relationships, that is, the kinds of 'iconic meanings' realized by sounds. Kies discusses phonological meanings in terms of **phonaesthemes** (sounds which have to do with sounds or movements, e.g. for indistinct sound /ʌ/ in *hum, drum, thrum, thump, grunt, mumble*, etc., or for quick movement /sk-/ in *scamper, scan, scatter, scram, scrawl, scrub*, etc.), and **kinaesthemes** (sounds which 'enact' physical action, e.g. for abrupt movement /p,t,k/) in *knock, crack, flick, hack*, etc.). Kies further points out that both of these realizations of phonological meaning have to be considered together with **synaesthesia**, i.e. with syntactic and graphic patterns in texts.

Although the tools and ways of analyzing phonological meanings in texts may differ in linguistic traditions, the various approaches have largely accepted the study of phonological meanings as a fruitful enterprise and consider them as expressions of personal and social attitudes of interactants engaged in any kind of communication. To summarize then, today most linguists understand the phonological level in its Firthian sense - as part of the total meaning-making mechanism. But, as will be discussed in the next section, most studies on phonological meaning are selective and seem to concentrate mostly on literary texts and more specifically on valued literary texts.

3. Phonological meanings and their analysis in various kinds of texts

When Firth (1951/57: 193) writes "whenever a man speaks, he speaks in some sense as a poet", he seems to suggest that phonological meanings are present and analyzable in **texts of all genres**, produced by speakers in various social contexts. Similarly Chapman (1984: 210) seems to consider the same 'tools' operative in everyday situations and in literary texts:

> "Literary language is closely related to everyday usage; it must draw upon the common core of shared speech if it is to communicate in any way. Those manipulations of language which we think of as specifically literary - rhyme, rhythm, figures of speech and the rest - can be found in daily usage."

Today we indeed have an abundance of discourse analytic and ethnomethodological studies that focus on analyses of different kinds of spoken verbal interaction in various social contexts. But have linguists studied the role of phonological meanings also in written texts of various kinds? The answer to this question is largely **no**. Most of the studies on phonological meanings in written texts seem to be interested only in the study of artistic or literary texts (noted also by Bregazzi 1990). Only a few studies discuss phonological meanings in non-literary written texts (e.g. Leech 1966; Bregazzi 1990). We can thus say that the interest in phonological meaning creation seems, first of all, to be **biased** towards **texts of literature**.

But even texts of literature have not been treated equally. As mentioned above, Firth (1951/57: 194) saw phonological meanings operating both in prose (i.e. fiction) and in verse, and thus one would expect him to pay equal attention to both. But all Firth's examples of analyses of phonological meanings come from texts of verse, and he is no exception among linguists interested in phonological meanings. For example, in Cummings & Simmons (1983) the realizations of phonological meanings are illustrated by analyses of Gerard Hopkins's, Dylan Thomas's, and Matthew Arnold's poems. No novelist receives any attention in their analyses of phonological meanings. Thus, the **second bias** that can frequently be recognized is that the study of phonological meanings in literary texts seems to be skewed towards *verse* at the expense of fiction.

There are, however, some books, such as *Style in Fiction* (Leech & Short 1981), which encourage linguists and students of linguistics and literature to discover what lies behind the writing of good novelists: "The great novelists of the English language have been ... also great artists, and the challenge remains of trying to explain the nature of that artistry" (1981: 2-3). Leech and Short call for a serious study of various kinds of meaning realizations in prose, including also the realizations of phonological meanings. But the data they analyse present the **third bias**: if phonological patterns are studied in fiction texts, they are more frequently studied in **valued fiction texts** than in **non-valued fiction texts** [6]. For example, Leech & Short (1981) have studied such well-known and valued authors like Joseph Conrad, D. H. Lawrence, Henry James, Katherine Mansfield. Little is known about inexperienced novelits's attempts of using phonological meanings.

The three biases are summarized in a form of a network in Figure 1, where the arrow ' ↑ ' indicates the direction of preference skewing (i.e. phonological meanings are studied in literarary texts more frequently than in non-literary texts; in verse more frequently than in fiction texts, in valued fiction texts more frequently than in non-valued fiction texts).

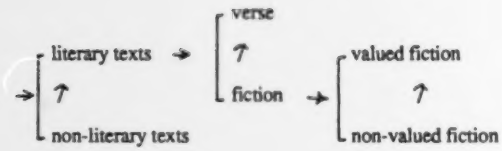

Figure 1. *Generic skewing in the study of phonological meanings.*

The linguistic artistry of producing phonological meanings in texts of different types still remains a puzzle. Only relatively few studies have in fact concentrated on finding out how phonological meanings are created in texts. In no sense can we say that we know how in various contexts of situations every man 'in some sense speaks as a poet', if he does. Analyses of phonological meanings in all kinds of genres are necessary. The above-mentioned biases towards the study of texts of literature, and more specifically towards verse and valued fiction texts, have so far restricted the study of phonological meanings and their realizations. To understand the functioning of phonological meanings more fully, we should expand our studies beyond the biases presented above.

4. Translation theory and phonological meanings

The biases captured in Figure 1 also influence the work of translation theorists and translators. Phonological meanings and their translation is seen to be important only in literary texts, more specifically in verse. Texts are even classified according to their artistic realizations. In a textbook on translation theory, for example, a translator trainee may be told that **entertainment literature** and **factual prose** are "not read for linguistic pleasure but for the sake of an exciting plot, content, or useful information", whereas in **artistic literature** (i.e. valued fiction) and **verse** "part of the reading pleasure consists of carefully cultivated language with its fine nuances and well-formulated texts" (Ingo 1982: 15-17). Ingo seems to imply a state of affairs where in some texts phonological meanings are realized, and in others they are not. This cannot be

the case. Also prose and non-valued fiction texts include patterns which realize phonological meanings. The patterns in everyday texts may be less foregrounded than in the valued texts of literature and as receivers of the texts we often are unconscious of these patterns and the meanings they create. But there also exist many non-valued text types where phonological meanings are as foregrounded as in artistic texts and where they are used to create certain rhetorical effects. As mentioned previously, Leech (1966: 186-189) has considered advertising as a typical non-fiction genre which consciously utilizes various phonological patterns to create powerful meanings. Hatim & Mason (1990: 14) also give further examples of phonological meanings at work in non-fiction texts: *Let the train take the strain* (British rail) in advertising and *The workers not the shirkers* (Margaret Thatcher, circa 1980) in political slogans. Thus, the view that phonological meanings are only used for artistic purposes and that a translator only needs to pay attention to the phonological meaning realizations in verse seems to need reassessing.

Earlier, this article encouraged the study of phonological meaning patterns in all kinds of texts. When such patterns are discovered, it is appropriate to ask if and how such phonological meaning realizations can be translated. Ingo (1982: 17), as shown above, seems to suggest that such translations (of 'tune') are possible in artistic texts and must be given high priority, specifically in translations of verse. But, as will be shown below, opinions on the translatability of phonological meanings seem to vary among linguists and translation theorists.

To begin with, Firth saw phonological meanings as a part of 'the statement of meaning' of a text. He saw the linguistic understanding of a text on all levels of meaning to be specifically beneficial for the translation process and encouraged linguists to work together with translators, assisting the latter to formalize the processing of a text.

> One of the most important assignments for linguists in the future is the formulation of satisfactory theories of the nature of the translation bridges between languages. ... Translators know they cross over but do not know by what sort of bridge. They often re-cross by a different bridge to check up again. Sometimes they fall over the parapet into limbo. There is a good deal of smuggling and surreptitious evasion, and deliberate jettisoning of embarrassing difficulties (Firth 1957/68: 197).

According to Firth, linguists and translators together can build up a translation theory which involves "interlingual bridges making use of levels of analysis and measuring modes of translation by the theory of modes of meaning" (Firth 1957/68: 197). Yet, Firth did not consider 'building bridges' an easy task, especially not in translations of verse. In 1951, Firth writes that "the phonological mode of meaning, in poetry, ... is a mode *impossible of translation* from one language into another" (Firth 1951/57: 193; emphasis mine). Firth gives Swinburne's poetry as an example, stating that its English quality makes it "untranslatable into any other language" (Firth 1951/57: 198). Later he refers to the phonetic mode as "the most *intractable* in translation" (Firth 1957/68: 198; emphasis mine). As also others have noted, with these statements Firth did not want to discourage linguists, translation theorists, and translators from tackling the problems of translating poetry. On the contrary, Firth was among the first linguists to see the importance of linguistic analysis, including phonological analysis, for translation theory. But he openly admitted that translating phonological meanings offers a special challenge when bridges are to be built between linguistics and translation theory.

Since no comprehensive overview of how various translation theorists have handled phonological meanings and translation problems is possible in this context, Nida's and Newmark's work will be taken as representative approaches within translation theory - one representing the early work on translation theory and the other a later approach[7]. It will soon be noticed that phonological meanings and their translation have not received much attention in the works of these translation theorists. Mostly phonological meaning translations are discussed in relation to poetry.

Nida's articles in the 1960's include numerous references to how phonological meanings cannot be ignored in translations of verse. His view is, similar to many other linguists' views, that only 'a recreation' or 'a creative transportation' is possible when poetry is translated (e.g. Roman Jakobson, see Hatim & Mason 1990: 13; Newmark 1988: 70, 165; Leino 1989: 28).

> Lyric poetry ... cannot be adequately reduced to mere prose, for the original form of the 'song' must in some way be reproduced as another 'song' (Nida 1964: 25).

When creating a new text, the translator's aim, according to Nida, should be to strike a balance between **formal, functional, and dynamic equivalence** (for a discussion, see Nida 1969). Here one can naturally agree with Nida, but certain doubts remain as to whether translators pay enough attention to phonological meanings in translations.

Nida (1964: 123-125) also seems to suggest that much of the phonological meaning of spoken texts, whether verse or other types of texts, is lost when texts are written down. Here he refers to the difficulty of expressing stress groups, junctures, intonational contours, tones of voice in writing. To Nida phonological meaning seems to have been reduced to a mere difference of **mode** (i.e. roughly spoken vs. written; for mode, see e.g. Halliday 1978; Gregory & Carroll 1978).

All in all, Nida (1964: 176) seems to think that only "by chance a sound effect in one language can be duplicated by an equivalent ... in another [language]". For example, he considers such sound symbolism and iconic elements as *flip, flap, flitter, flimmer* as "relatively rare, though not unimportant in the translation of poetry ... [but] difficult to reproduce with anything like their original values" (Nida 1964: 21). To Nida (1964: 176), "languages differ in the types of sounds they use and the values they tend to attach to these uses".

For the translator, Nida (1964: 193-195) recognizes some problem areas and offers some solutions for translating phonological meanings. The first problem Nida discusses concerns itself with **the transliteration of borrowed lexis**, e.g. proper names appearing in the text. The solution Nida offers is that either a translator can borrow the phonological form directly from the source language or s/he can adapt the form phonologically to the target language, or s/he can compromise between the two solutions. The second type of a problem Nida discusses is **plays on phonologically similar words**. These, according to Nida, are almost impossible to reproduce, and the solution for the translator is to seek for an approximation of the patterning, though not of the sounds. Finally, the third type of a translation problem which involves phonological meanings is represented by **patterns of form-sound style**. These refer to patterns of alliteration, rhyme, and various acrostic arrangements in texts (e.g. initial letters of

successive lines in verse). These patterns offer fine challenges to the translator and cannot, according to Nida, be reproduced 'without radical distortion of meaning'. One-to-one patterning is virtually impossible, and metrical and rhyming patterns must be altered. Here, the translator can always resort to offering notes to his/her readers.

In short, the analysis and the discussion Nida seems to offer for translators as a tool for working on phonological meanings is fairly limited in scope. He discusses the translation problems of phonological meanings occurring in verse, but not in other text types. His views on phonological meanings are fairly negative, and he develops no practical tools for dealing with the translation problems.

Another example approach briefly reviewed here is that by Newmark and his textbook on translation (1988). Although this textbook is partly based on the earlier work of Newmark's, due to its publication date, one would expect that it would outline the latest developments in linguistics and translation theory, including the translation problems of phonological meanings.

Newmark sees phonological meaning realizations as part of the aesthetic function of language. The phonological meanings are realized by "language designed to please the senses" and involve such patternings as those of **rhythm, balance, onomatopoeia, alliteration,** and **stress** (Newmark 1988: 42). Newmark lists the kinds of texts where such patternings are typically found: poetry, nonsense/children's verse, jingles, and TV-commercials. In theory, Newmark encourages translators to observe and pay attention to phonological meanings in more varied range of genres than Nida, but in practice also his discussion of the translation problems of phonological meanings still centres around poetry. When translating verse, the translator always juggles between an ugly literal translation and a beautiful free translation (Newmark 1988: 42). But how the juggling is done is not made explicit. A successfully translated poem is always a new poem, implies Newmark (1988: 70), but offers no systematic tools for creating this new poem phonologically. He (1988: 166) writes:

> no general theory of poetic translation is possible and all a translation theorist can do is to draw attention to the variety of possibilities and point to successful practice.

Contrary to Firth, to Newmark, phonological meanings in translation seem to be less important than the meanings created by other types of linguistic patternings in texts. The following two quotations indicate that Newmark does not perceive the phonological level to be equal in status with the other linguistic levels, at least as far as translation is concerned, but rather it is worth attention only when the final touch is put to the text.

> Sound effects ... come last for the translator, except for lovely minor poetry such as Swinburne's (Newmark 1988: 168).

In translating short stories/novels, the translator

> is released from the obvious constraints of poetry - metre and rhyme - whilst the varieties of sound-effect are likely to play a minor role (Newmark 1988: 170).

This is not the context to evaluate Newmark's work and his book comprehensively, but as far as the treatment of phonological patterns and their translation in texts of various kinds is concerned, Newmark's work shows that even 20-25 years since Nida's writings, and 30-40 years since Firth's writings, phonological meanings in texts still remain a very neglected area in translation theory and practice, and when rarely observed, then the discussion still centres around verse.

5. Translating phonological meanings in fiction

Considering the limited and narrow approaches linguists and translation theorists have to offer as theoretical tools and practical guidelines for translators, it is hardly surprising that the treatment of phonological meanings in translations of prose texts and fiction texts can vary widely. In this section some text extracts from a novel are given as examples of translation difficulties and translation similarities and differences of phonological meanings.

Text 1 is from Patrick White's novel *Voss*[8], Text 2 from its Finnish translation, and Text 3 from its Swedish translation. The focus will be on the items underlined.

TEXT 1:

'I like strawberries best.' Mary Hebden jumped and panted.
'Strawberries!' shrieked Mary Cox. 'Who will get strawberries?'
'I will,' said Mary Hebden. 'Although I am not supposed to tell.'
'That is one of the things you expect us to believe,' Mary Hayley said. 'As if we was silly.'
'Simple dimple had a pimple', chanted Mary Cox.
'Syllables of sillicles,' said Mary Hayley, in her rather pure voice.
'Very well, then,' said Mary Hebden. 'I had begun to tell. But will not now. Thanks to you, they will not be able to say I cannot keep promises.'

(White1957/81: 397)[9]

TEXT 2:

'Minä tykkään eniten mansikoista.' Mary Hebden pomppi ja huohotti.
'Mansikoista!' kiljaisi Mary Cox. 'Kuka niitä saa?'
'Minä saan,' sanoi Mary Hebden. 'Vaikken minä kyllä saisi kertoa.'
'Taas sinä luulet, että me uskottaisiin tuo', Mary Hayley sanoi. Niin kuin jotkut äänliöt.'
'Höpön löpön luppakorva', kailotti Mary Cox.
'Hölmöläisten hornoita', lauloi Mary Hayley varsin puhtaalla äänellään.
'Hyvä on sitten,' sanoi Mary Hebden. 'Minä olin jo kertomassa. Mutta enpäs kerrokaan. Teidän ansiostanne eivät sitten voi väittää, että minä en pysty pitämään lupauksiani.'

(White1957/77: 375)[10]

TEXT 3:

'Jag tycker bäst om jordgubbar.' Mary Hebden hoppade och flåsade.
'Jordgubbar!' skrek Mary Cox gällt. 'Vem får jordgubbar?'
'Jag får,' sa Mary Hebden. 'Fast det är inte meningen att jag ska tala om det.'
'Och det vill du vi ska tro på,' sa Mary Hayley . 'Tror du att vi är dumma, va?'
'Se upp, se ner, se på tummen, vilken dum en', mässade Mary Cox.
'Dumsnutar i alla knutar,' sjöng Mary Hayley med sin ganska rena röst.
'Då så,' sa Mary Hebden. 'Jag hade tänkt berätta, men nu gör jag det inte. Tack vare er kommer de inte att kunna säga att jag inte kan hålla några löften.'

(White 1983: 461)[11]

In Text 1, in the original, on the purely formal level, what Mary Cox and Mary Hayley say to Mary Hebden, ***Simple dimple had a pimple*** and ***Syllables of sillicles***, does not make sense, i.e. 'dimples' cannot be simple and they cannot have pimples, nor is there such a lexical item in English as 'sillicles'. Yet, by using ***silly***, ***simple***, ***dimple***, ***pimple***, and ***syllables of sillicles***, White creates a poetic effect in his text, and the text reminds readers of children's rhymes. Mary Hebden is being ridiculed by the other girls who envy her for getting strawberries. Children often mock each other with varies kinds of rhymes. White first establishes the semantic relationships between ***silly*** and ***simple***, and extends the same semantic meaning through phonology to ***sillicles***, a nonsense word, the first part of which carries a phonological resemblance to ***silly***. In

addition to the phonological meaning created by repetition, *(silly, sillicles)*, also alliteration (s-) and end-rhyming (-imple, -les) work in creating meaning in this passage. Both Bregazzi (1990) and Kies (1990) suggest that the sound /i/ suggests 'smallness', 'reduction' in dimentional size, in emotional feeling, or in social aspect in relation to the speaker (inferiority), e.g. *teenie-weenie, doggy*. These remarks could be used to interpret the /i/ -sound in ending -y in *silly*.These phonological meanings can be represented as in Figure 2.

silly

simple dimple had a pimple

syl lables of *silli* cles

Figure 2. *The phonological meanings in the English original, Text 1.*

The phonological meanings expressed in Text 1 are translated into Finnish relatively successfully in Text 2, although some improvements can be suggested. The Finnish phonological meaning relations are charaterized in Figure 3.[12]

äälliöt

höpön löpön luppakorva

hölmöläisten horinoita

Figure 3. *The phonological meanings in the Finnish translation, Text 2.*

In Finnish the translator builds up a similar semantic relationship as White's English ***silly - simple - sillicles*** between the items ***äälliöt*** and ***höpön*** and adds to it ***hölmöläisten*** (all implying the meaning 'a simple person, a simpleton'). In the English text, the alliteration of s- in all of the words and the repetition of ***silly*** in ***sillicles*** build up the phonological meanings which further back up the semantic relations between the words. In the Finnish translation, the phonological meanings only work partially between ***höpön*** and ***hölmöläisten*** in the initial alliteration of h-. Had the translator chosen

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hölmöt (also 'silly', 'simple') to start with, instead of ***ääliöt***, the pattern of alliteration of **h**- would have been strengthened and repetition of **-ölmö-** would further have increased the phonological meanings. The effect of the phonological meanings of *Simple dimple had a pimple* is realized in Finnish in the alliterations and rhyming of *hõpõn lõpõn luppakorva* (both have the same number of tone groups, where the first syllable is stressed). The last item ***luppakorva*** does not rhyme with the previous items, but the alliteration of **l**- and the plosives in -pp- relate it to the previous items. Naturally one could here have invented another pattern, for example, ***höpön löpön töpön***[13], where ***töpön*** creates a more consistent rhyming phonological pattern than ***luppakorva***. This pattern would have fewer tone groups than the original or the translation, but this hardly seems significant in this context. But why ***luppakorva*** may, in fact, work better as a translation in this context than the suggested rhyme ***töpön*** is that in Finnish ***höpön löpön luppakorva*** is a traditional well-recognized children's rhyme. The meaning is created through tradition, since semantically *hõpõn lõpõn luppakorva* has as little semantic meaning as *simple dimple had a pimple*.

Alternative translations of phonological meanings are given in Figure 3.

hölmö t

höpön löpön töpön

hölmö läisten horinoita

Figure 3. *Alternatives to the translation of the phonological meanings in Text 2.*

It is also worthwhile to note that sometimes attempts to retain phonological meanings cause slight changes in meaning between the original and the translation. The English items ***silly*** and ***simple*** are adjectives referring to the qualities a person may have, and **sillicles** to the speech uttered by a person. The Finnish choices of words ***ääliö, höpö, hölmöläinen*** personify the qualities into a noun - a simpleton. The 'silliness' of Mary Hebden thus comes out as stronger in the Finnish translation than in the English original. Also ***hölmöläisten horinoita*** implies the meaning of a simpleton who speaks

deliriously and is extremely difficult to understand, in contrast to a person who is momentarily joking or trying to pull someone's leg by saying ***syllables of sillicles***.

The phonological meanings in Text 1 are translated into Swedish as represented in Figure 4.

dum ma

se upp se ner se på *tum* men vilken *dum* en

dum nutar i alla knutar[14]

Figure 4. *The phonological meanings in the Swedish translation, Text 3.*

The Swedish translation expresses the semantic meaning of 'silly' through ***dum***, equivalent of ***silly***, and uses it in the translation through repetition. This naturally creates an alliterative pattern through **d-**, but this pattern is not as strong as the phonological pattern created with **s-** in English. Another alliterative pattern is created in **s-** in the repetition of **se**. Here the phonological meaning is naturally further strengthened by semantic contrasts: *se upp, se ner* [look up, look down]. The end rhymes **-en** are corresponding to the **-imple** rhymes in English, but one has to note that additionally they carry different syntactic functions (the first -en signifies definiteness, the second contrasts with an interrogative pronoun *vilket,* and the last is an indefinite pronoun).

The number of the tone groups in Mary Cox's line in the Swedish translation is not equal to the original. Mary Hayley's line *Dumsnutar i alla knutar* has an end rhyme, and it of course effectively links the line to the previous occurrences of 'silly'. The phonological meaning is strongly supported by the syntactic and lexical parallelisms in the Swedish translation, perhaps more so than in the Finnish translation. Furthermore, similarly to the Finnish translator, the Swedish translator seems to rely on well-recognized, traditional translations, instead of working out her own phonological patterns which would maximally correspond to the original. Similarly to *Hõpõn lõpõn luppakorva* in Finnish, *Se upp, se ner, se på tummen, vilken dum en* is in Swedish a traditional 'teasing rhyme' used by children. Neither *Hõlmõläisten horinoita* nor *Dumsnutar i alla knutar* are known as rhymes in Finnish and Swedish, but both succeed in continuing the

effect of the traditional rhymes and carrying on the initiated creation of phonological meanings in the translations of White's text.

Certainly, there is no question about the overall success of the Finnish and Swedish translations of White's phonological meanings. The translators are on the same wavelength as the writer. As Hatim & Mason (199: 11) note, such requirements are often set to top class translators:

> The best translators of works of literature are often said to be those who are most 'in tune' with the original author. The translator must 'possess' the spirit of the original, 'make his own' the intent of the SL [source language] writer.

Preliminary research to Finnish translations of Australian literature (Ventola 1990, forthcoming) seems to indicate that the translators of valued Australian novels are indeed, if not writers themselves, then at least very reputable as translators. These translators are perhaps more willing than others to attempt translating phonological meanings in texts and often do so with considerable professionalism. In Finland the **valued works of fiction** generally appear to be translated by **valued translators** (Ventola 1990, forthcoming). The Finnish publication principles and translation politics seem to work on the principle that large publishing houses have their own trusted translators, and when new valued novels appear such an elite group of translators usually 'scoops the cream off the cake' first.

A quick look at the Finnish translations of Australian fiction written by less well-known authors of romances, adventure stories, and thrillers will rapidly show that usually their translators are not well-known and that the translators do not specialize in one or only a few authors. Translators of popular literature cannot afford to choose whom they translate, usually one translator has several authors to whose style s/he has to adapt. It is known that publishers of popular literature offer jobs to students of English or translation studies, or to other occasional freelancers (personal communication with students and freelance translators). Many of these translators have, at least in this stage of their lives, little theoretical training in translation. This leads to another generalization, but of the opposite kind to the one presented above: **the less valued works of fiction** are translated by **less-valued translators**. Many factors may lead to the fact that the

original author's attempts at creating phonological meanings simply get ignored in translation: the lack of training and experience in translating phonological meanings, the lack of systematic familiarity with the author's 'style' of producing phonological meanings, lack of time to consider appropriate translations, as the tariffs for translating less-valued literature are typically fairly low.

The overall effect often is that in many translations of valued and less-valued fiction the phonological meanings are completely lost. If, for example, the novels of an Australian author, well-known in her own country but less known in Finland, are constantly translated by different, inexperienced translators, the sales might not increase, although the author would actually deserve to be better known in Finland and ought to be translated with care. Authors' attempts at beauty of expression will be missed. Naturally in many of the less-valued works of fiction there may not be any attempts for phonological meanings to be found in the first place. What is quickly produced in a mass-production fashion will be translated in a similar fashion.

To continue the argumentation on translation practice, let us consider a further example from Patrick White's novel, Text 4 and its translations, Texts 5 and 6. In Text 4 some expressions are underlined and they will be discussed below.

TEXT 4:

> *However, by the time the groom had fetched Dr Kilwinning, and driven him through the shiny shrubs, and deposited him under the solid sandstone portico, the master and mistress were neatly dressed, and appeared to be in full possession.*
>
> *The doctor himself was remarkably neat, and particularly about his full, well-cut, black back, which Mrs Bonner determined in future not to notice.*
>
> *He was carrying a little cardboard box.*
>
> *'I propose to let some blood,' he explained. 'Now. Although I had intended waiting until this evening.'*
>
> *The old couple drew in their breath.*
>
> *Nor would Mrs Bonner consent to look at those naked leeches, lolling upon the moist grass, in their little box.*
>
> *As the day promised scorching heat, they had already drawn the curtains over the sun, so that the young woman's face was sculptured by shadow as well as suffering. But for the painful breathing, she might not have beem present in her greenish flesh, for she did not appear directly aware of anything that was taking place. She allowed the doctor to arrange the leeches as if it were one of the more usual acts of daily life, and only when it was done did she seem concerned for the ash, which, she said, the wind was blowing into their faces from off the almost extinguished fires.*
>
> (White 1957/77: 385; see Footnote 1).

In Text 4, White seems again to have realized several intentional phonological patterns. For example, *shiny shrubs* and *solid sandstone porticos* create certain powerful images of an Australian scenery, at least in the mind of a reader who is familiar with the Australian context. Certainly, partly the images here are the result of lexical collocation, but partly they can be said to be the result of the phonological meanings created in the passage; for example, the occurrence of the sibilants is hardly unintentional here. Views on what phonological meanings English sibilants are seen to cater for vary. Bregazzi (1990), for example, suggest the meanings of 'lower volume' or the emulation of sleepiness' for the sibilants. Kies (1990) also lists various meanings: /sw-/ = curvilinear motion, /sl-/ = smooth movement (often pejorative or oblique), /sk-/ = quick movement, /sh-/ = voluminous sound (e.g. smash, rush). Earlier, Firth (1930/64) had made similar remarks about the meanings of sibilants, e.g. /sl-/ = pejorative, /str-/ = 'streching'. None of these meanings can perhaps directly be attached to the example sibilants above. But what seems to function in the passage is what Firth saw as a cumulative effect of alliteration and experiential analogy working together in the text. In other words, the sibilants in *shiny shrubs* and *solid sandstone porticos*, and in somewhat later appearing *scorching heat* and *the sun*, seem to create an image of a house standing alone in the Australian open, barren planes in the heat of the summer (cf. Kies's (1990) analysis of C. Sandburg's *The Harbor* where the image of oppressive, lasting summer heat is created by using [+ continuent] and [+nasal] sounds).

Certain seriousness in the situation described is raised by the words *master and mistress*, instead of *Mr. and Mrs. Bonner*. The doctor looks serious and respectable in his black suit: *black back*. The leeches in contrast are naked, and the alliteration of l-sound, in *leeches lolling ... in their little box*, makes readers agree with the disgust Mr. and Mrs. Bonner feel towards the idea of letting blood and towards the leeches used for the purpose. *Scorching heat* and *the sun* seem to intensify the unpleasent atmosphere and increase the suffering of the woman, whose face was *sculptured by shadow* and *suffering*, the sibilant sounds continuing the creation of the pejorative, fatal atmosphere. The passage portrays a hot, unbearable Australian day and the discomfort of it, especially

to a person who is sick. *Fires*, although now extinguished, contrast strangely to the heat of the day - but obviously the patient had been feeling cold and the room had been heated. The sound patterning plays an important role in creating these meanings and images in the passage.

Some of these sound patterns seem to work also in the Swedish translation in Text 5 (to facilitate the phonological comparison for those readers who do not read Swedish, the original wording is set in the parentheses of the focused wordings).

TEXT 5:

> *Vid den tidpunkt då stalldrängen hade hämtat dr Kilwinning och kört honom genom de skinande busksnåren [shiny shrubs] och satt av honom under den bastanta sandstensportiken [solid sandstone portico], var herrn och frun [master and mistress] emellertid prydligt klädda och verkade samlade.*
>
> *Läkaren själv var anmärkningsvärt prydlig, särskilt när det gällde den fylliga, välskräddade svarta ryggen [black back], som mrs Bonner bestämde sig för att inte lägga märke till i framtiden.*
>
> *Han bar på en liten kartonglåda.*
>
> *'Jag har för avsikt att tappa lite blod,' sa han. 'Nu. Fastän jag hade tänkt vänta till i kväll.'*
>
> *Det gamla paret drog efter andan.*
>
> *Inte heller ville mrs Bonner titta på de nakna blodiglar [leeches] som lättjefullt låg [lolling] på det fuktiga gräset i sin lilla låda [little box].*
>
> *Som dagen utlovade förtärande hetta [scorching heat], hade de redan dragit för gardinerna mot solen [the sun], så att den unga kvinnans ansikte skulpterades av skugga såväl som av smärta [sculptured by the shadow as well as by the pain] Bortsett från de pinande grönaktiga kropp, ty hon verkade inte direkt medveten om någonting av det som ägde rum. Hon lät läkaren sätta fast blodiglarna som om det vore en av vardagens allra vanligaste handlingar, och det var bara när det var gjort som hon verkade bekymrad över anskan som, sa hon, vinden blåste i deras ansikten från de nästan slocknade eldarna [fires].*
>
> (White 1983: 447)[15]

The use of sibilants is noticeable also in the Swedish translation: *skinande busksnåren, den bastanta sandstensportiken, solen, skulpterades av skugga såväl som av smärta.* Once again the sibilants seem to enforce the enduring heat and the suffering of the young woman in the heat - the unpleasentness of the whole situation. Similarly the disgust which Mrs. Bonner feels towards the leeches in the box seems to be transmitted to the Swedish readers by the /l/-sounds in translations: *blodiglar, lättjefullt låg, lilla låda.* Notice that the Swedish translator also consciously increases the alliteration in the passage: in English the leeches *loll* on the grass, in Swedish they *lättjefullt låg* 'lazily lay' on the grass. The task of translating phonological meanings from English to Swedish

is perceivably somewhat easier than from English to Finnish, as will be illustrated shortly. Both of the languages are Germanic languages and this relationship has also its phonological consequences. Firth (1930/64: 182) once noted: "There are quite a number of Dutch, German, and Scandinavian speech sequences that might evoke a certain measure of appropriate response in a unilingual Englishman of average intelligence." Understandably, due to the linguistic similarities, it will be easier for a Swedish translator to be more attentative to phonological meanings and to find phonological translation equivalents to White's meanings than to a Finnish translator, whose language is not a Indo-European language. Furthermore, since the languages are not related, rather different sounds may have been adopted to realize phonological meanings of experiential contexts, whereas related languages may realize same experiential contexts with the same phonological patterns.

As can be observed in Text 6, the images created by White's skilful use of the words and phonological patterns are not easy to translate into Finnish phonologically (to facilitate the phonological comparison for those readers who do not read Finnish, the original wording is set in the parentheses of the focused wordings).

TEXT 6:

> *Mutta jo siihen aikaan, kun renki oli noutanut tohtori Kilwinningin, kyydinnyt hänet kimaltelevan pensaikon [shiny shrubs] halki ja jättänyt viimein vankan, hiekkakivisen katoksen [solid sandstone portico] alle, isäntä ja emäntä [master and mistress] olivat siististi pukeutuneita ja kaikesta päätäen täysin voimissaan.*
>
> *Tohtori itsekin oli huomattavan siisti ja sitä erityisesti täyteläisen hyvin leikatun mustan takinselkämyksen [black back] vaiheilta, jonka rouva Bonner päätti vastedes jättää vaille huomiota.*
>
> *Hän kantoi pientä pahvilaatikkoa.*
>
> *'Minun on tarkoitus ottaa hiukan verta', hän selitti. 'Nyt. Vaikka olinkin aikonut odottaa tämän päivän iltaan asti.'*
>
> *Koska aamu lupaili korventavaa helleitä [scorching heat], he olivat jo vetäneet uutimet auringon [the sun] eteen, joten varjot muotoilivat [shadows sculptured] nuoren naisen kasvoja yhtä paljon kuin kärsimyskin [suffering]. Mutta tuskallisesta hengityksestä huolimatta hän oli kuin poissa vihertävästä lihastaan, sillä hän ei näyttänyt olevan tietoinen mistään tapahtuvasta. Hän antoi lääkärin asettaa illimadot paikoilleen ikään kuin kyseessä olisi ollut täysin jokapäiväinen tapaus, ja vasta tämän jälkeen hän näytti huolestuvan tuhkasta, jota tuuli hänen sanojensa mukaan puhalsi heidän kasvoilleen melkein sammuneista nuotioista [fires].*
>
> (White1957/77: 364; see Footnote 2.)

Text 6 is naturally by the same translator as Text 2. The way the Finnish translator here deals with the translation of the suggested phonological meanings is no longer as laudable as in Text 2. In fact, crudely put, White's phonological meanings are lost in the Finnish translation, as can be seen above. The translation does not evoke the meanings and images of the original through phonological patterns (note that the phonological meanings in Finnish must not necessarily be created with the same sounds as in English, as already illustrated in Texts 1 and 2). There is a feeling that in this passage the translator is not phonologically 'in tune' with the environment and the images which White has created before our eyes. The disgust towards the leeches is also lost to the Finnish reader as those lines have been cut out from the translation[16]: *The old couple drew in their breath. Nor would Mrs Bonner consent to look at those naked leeches, lolling upon the moist grass, in their little box.* Due to this omission in the translation, the significance of the doctor carrying a little cardboard box may remain rather obscure to the Finnish reader. Similarly, the contrast between the heat outside the room and the coldness that the patient must have felt is largely lost to the Finnish readers, due to a misfortunate lexical translation which seems to indicate that the translator is not very familiar with the Australian context and culture. *Fires* has been translated as *nuotiot.* But this lexical item in Finnish refers only to the fires which are lighted outdoors, never indoors, whereas all old Australian sandstone houses have fireplaces in the rooms where fires are kept going during cold winter nights. *Takkatuli* would have been an appropriate Finnish lexical item here and would have raised the image of the patient feeling cold in the heat of the room.

Texts 4, 5, and 6 exemplify different linguistic possibilities and sensitivities that translators have to phonological meanings. The Finnish translator demonstrated his ability to create corresponding phonological patterns when such patterns were so obvious in the original text that they could not simply be overlooked. Elsewhere, when such patterns were perhaps less obvious, but were nevertheless there for any contextually-oriented reader to discover and enjoy, the translator ignored the created phonological meanings in translation. In short, Example 6 above illustrates that the treatment of phonological patterns seems sometimes to be incidental and somewhat haphazard even in

translations of valued fiction. But naturally more systematic studies of translations of phonological meanings in valued and non-valued texts are needed.

6. Conclusion

This article discussed phonological meanings and their realization in fiction texts and the problematics of their translation. It covered the various views linguists appear to have about what phonological meanings are and how they are expressed linguistically. Furthermore, two linguistically oriented approaches on translation theory, Nida's and Newmark's, and the discussions on phonological meanings in them, were taken as representative examples of the treatment and development of phonological meanings within translation theory. Finally, the practical side, the actual translation practice and publishing politics were discussed.

On the whole the study of phonological meanings and their realization seems to be a somewhat neglected area. Several implications are relatively obvious. Firstly, within linguistics there is a need to increase our knowledge of the functioning and realization of phonological meanings, not just in verse texts, but in all kinds of texts, including everyday conversation. There is also a need to develop analytical tools for analyzing the phonological meanings in texts. Secondly, within linguistically-oriented translation theory, it is necessary to develop contrastive analyses of phonological meanings, so that translators could get a sufficient training in handling the differences in the phonological systems of the source and the target languages. Thirdly, within translation education more attention could be paid to raising the conciousness level of translator trainees for the phonological level in various kinds of texts, especially when the phonological systems vary greatly in the two languages. A contrastive approach is naturally essential in such training.

Only through measures similar to these can we perhaps build the kinds of bridges between language theory and translation that Firth so early on was referring to and solve

the discrepancies which exist in the present translation practice. There should be no difference between the translator of a valued and a less-valued text. The translation should try to express all the linguistic meanings encoded in the original, whether on the phonological level or on another linguistic level. None of the levels should carry more importance, or be less worthy of attention, than the other. Of course those who have as their job, so to speak, namely linguists and literary critics, to evaluate translations must also remember always to be fair and just. It should not happen, as Newmark (1988: 185) claims it often does, that "many reviewers of translated works neither know the original work nor the foreign language". Translation of any kind of a text demands professional skills, and to ensure best decoding by readers it is in the interest of all the above mentioned specialist groups to work together and build bridges between the disciplines of linguistics and translation theory and practice.

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Footnotes

1 This article is a revised version of a paper presented at the 17th International Systemic Congress, Stirling, United Kingdom, July 3-7, 1990.

2 'Valued' characterization is in Ventola (1990, forthcoming) given to those novels that are listed as Australian canon literature by literary historians and critics.

3 'Phonaesthetic' to Firth meant the association of sounds and personal and social attitudes (e.g. the fact that most English speakers consider sl- to carry a pejorative meaning).

4 Chiming, according to Leech (1968: 96), is most striking in cases where the words are "grammatically paired but ... contrast in reference and associations".

5 Leech (1968: 97) sees the suggestive power of onomatopoeia as a relatively weak feature of sounds: "The semantic content of words has to activate and focus this

imitative potential. If the semantic content does not do this, then the collocations of sounds are in most cases neutral."

6 Here valued fiction means 'accepted canon literature in the society'.

7 One can only hope that this kind of an overview will not be too unjust to translation theorists in general.

8 Translated by Jussi Nousiainen.

9 Patrick White, 1957/81. *Voss*. Harmondswoth: Penguin.

10 Patrick White, 1957/77. *Kohti mantereen sydäntä*. Helsinki: Otava.

11 White, Patrick 1983. *Voss*. Swedish translation by Ingegärd Martinell. Forum.

12 Glossary: fåliöt = simpletons, boobies [-t = plural marker]; höpön = foolish, silly, crazy person/matter [-n = genetive form]; löpön = a chatty person; a softie person [-n = genetive form]; luppakorva = lop-eared; someone with drooping ears; hölmöläisten = of simpletons [singular: hölmöläinen; -t = plural marker; -en = genetive form]; hourinoita = delirious speech.

13 Glossary: löpön = a helpless, simple person [-n = genetive form]

14 Glossary: dum = stupid, silly; se upp, se ner, se på tummen, vilken dum en = see up, see down, see on the thumb, what a simpleton one; dumsnutar i alla knutar = simpletons in all corners.

15 White, Patrick 1983. *Voss*. Swedish translation by Ingegärd Martinell. Forum.

16 Publishers often tell the translators to cut down the original text by about 20% in the translation. No information was available for this study on how translators actually make decisions on what to cut out from the text.

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Kaskisgatan 2 C 14, SF-20700 Åbo, Finland
Distribution: Tidningsbokhandeln, PB 33, SF-21601 Pargas

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